

Fiction

MAY 27 1912

A SUBSCRIPTION
OF THE
AMERICAN
REVIEW
OF
REVIEWS

EDITED BY ALBERT SHAW



(2)

JUNE, 1912

Stead the Journalist
Roosevelt and the Third Term
The Unit Rule and the Two-Thirds Rule
Comments on the Democratic Candidacies
BIG BUSINESS AND THE CITIZEN
The First Philippine Exposition
Lorado Taft the Sculptor
The "Titanic" Inquiries
Political Cartoons

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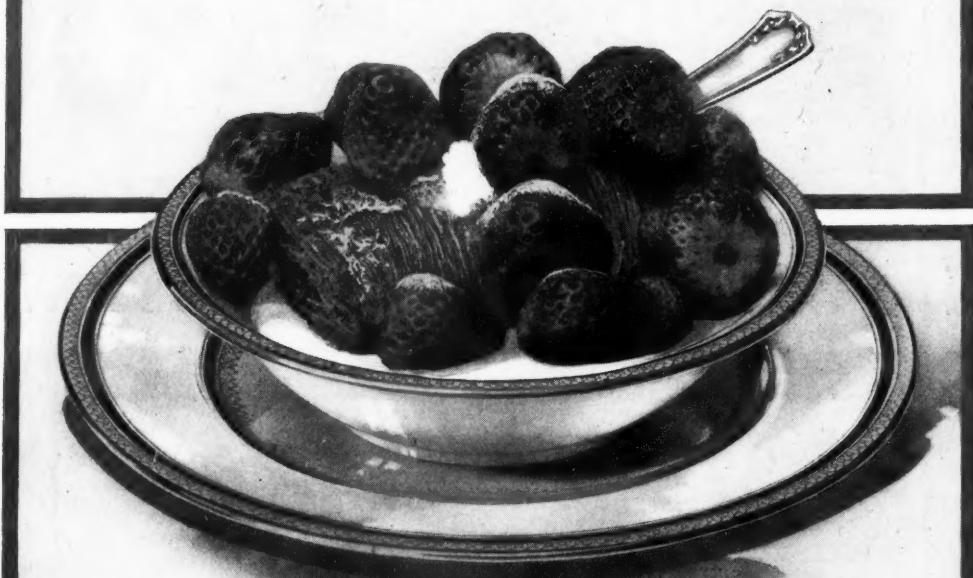
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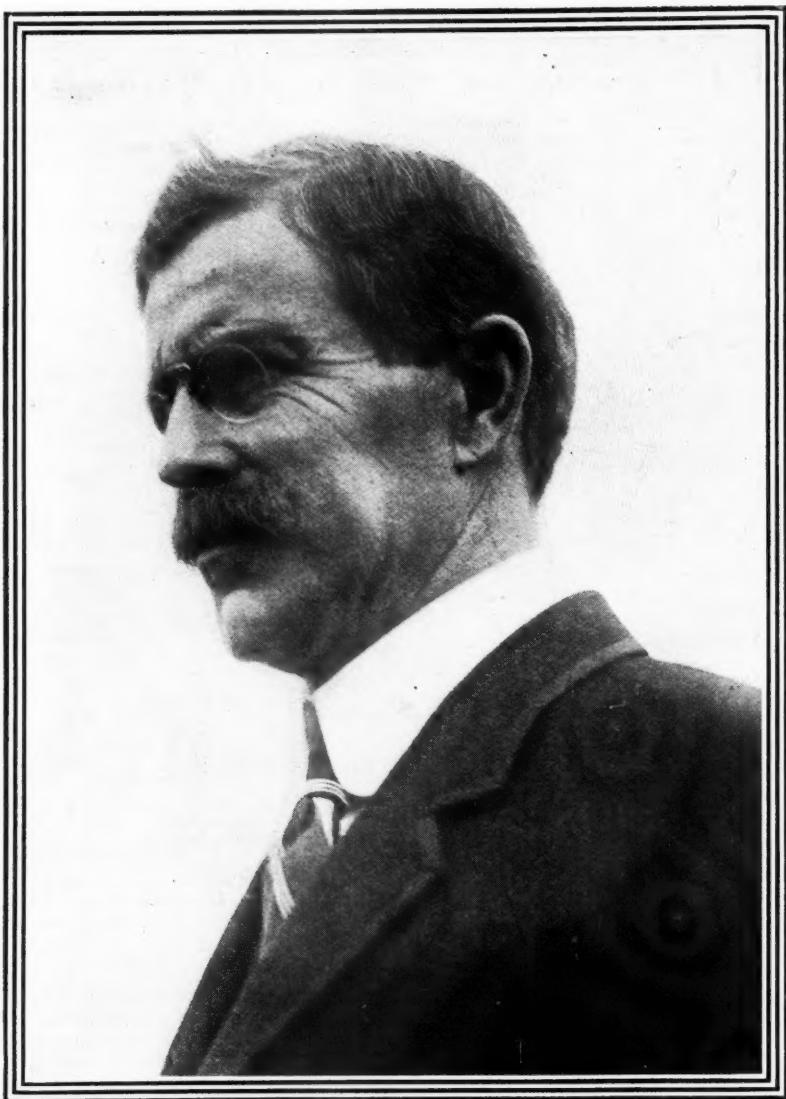
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**DR. JOHN GRIER HIBBEN, INSTALLED AS PRESIDENT OF PRINCETON
UNIVERSITY LAST MONTH**

(The most imposing and noteworthy academic occurrence of the spring was the inauguration into office on May 11 as the fourteenth President of Princeton University of Dr. John Grier Hibben, a graduate of the class of '82, who was elected President on January 11. The ceremony took place on the steps of Nassau Hall, where Washington was thanked for his services to his country, and which was the seat of the American Government for five months in 1783. The oath of office was administered to Dr. Hibben by Justice Mahlon Pitney, Princeton '79, recently appointed to the Supreme Court. Surrounding him were President Taft, Chief Justice White of the Supreme Court, and representatives of 152 educational institutions, as well as 3000 of the alumni of Princeton, the entire faculty, and the undergraduate body)

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REVIEW OF REVIEWS

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THE PROGRESS OF THE WORLD

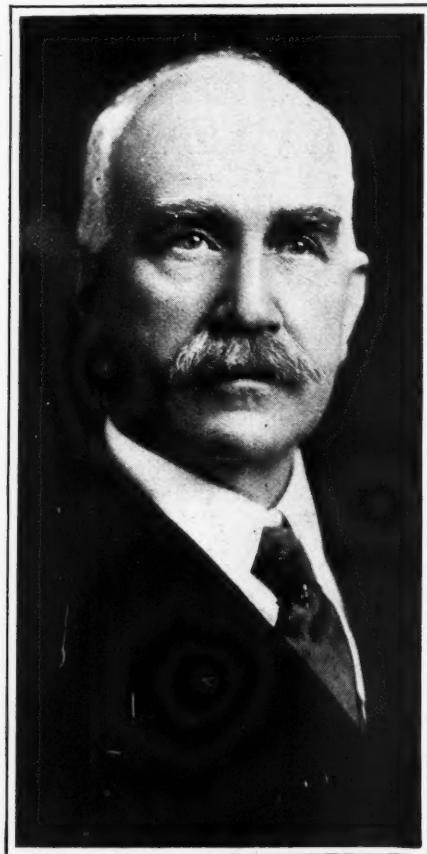
Some Surviving Democratic Customs A great many Democrats will be surprised by some of the information contained in an article published by us in this number of the REVIEW, on the unit rule and the two-thirds rule. Professor Potts shows them that the unit rule began eighty years ago in a convention that was not made up of regularly apportioned delegates, and that the reasons for it long ago ceased. He also shows how the two-thirds rule has worked in Democratic conventions in the past, and what results it may have in the Baltimore convention of the present month. It does not accord with that simple principle of majority control that prevails throughout our institutions; and its survival has never been defended upon any convincing grounds. The rule that the Presidential nominee of the Democratic convention must have a two-thirds majority does not, of course, have any validity except as each new convention adopts it for its own reasons. The real reason, however, why the two-thirds rule has persisted has not been clearly enough set forth; and we may venture to make some suggestions that will at least throw light upon the matter.

A Party of Groups and Sections The chief trouble with the Democratic party lies in the fact that it is not homogeneous. It is made up of elements that are never thoroughly blended. This condition almost invariably leads to wide differences of view about leaders, and is naturally productive of numerous active or receptive candidates for the Presidency. The strongest candidate seldom goes into a Democratic convention with a clear majority in sight. If he were sure of his bare majority, his supporters would promptly do away with the two-thirds rule. Obviously, the weaker candidates prefer numerous ballots. Their only chance lies in blocking the nomination of the leading candidate. If the

Democratic party were more homogeneous, its foremost leaders would have a stronger hold upon the entire party. It is likely enough that in the future the Democratic party may become better knit together.

The Four Chief Factors In the past the party has had as its largest factor the Solid South, which has been Democratic for sectional reasons rather than for reasons of agreement upon questions of national policy. Its next largest factor has been that of the social radicals, led by Bryan and Hearst, which has been especially strong in the West and among working men in the large towns and cities. The third great element in the Democratic party has been Tammany Hall, which is not a political body in the sense of having public objects and convictions upon questions of national policy, but which exists for the private interests of its members. This society is in control of the Democratic machinery of New York City, and in that way controls by far the larger part of the Democratic votes of the entire State of New York. Then comes the conservative old-line Democracy of the East, which worships the memory of Samuel J. Tilden and Grover Cleveland, and which has few convictions in common with the Hearst-Bryan element. These are the four great factors in the Democratic party, besides which there are many smaller groups, mostly fluctuating, like the tariff-reform league.

A Round Dozen Democratic Candidates Such a condition is naturally productive of a good many candidates. Thus, in the Baltimore convention, which meets June 25, there will probably be not fewer than twelve. Four of these have been very actively supported and are prominent in the race. The Four others will be presented in a formal way



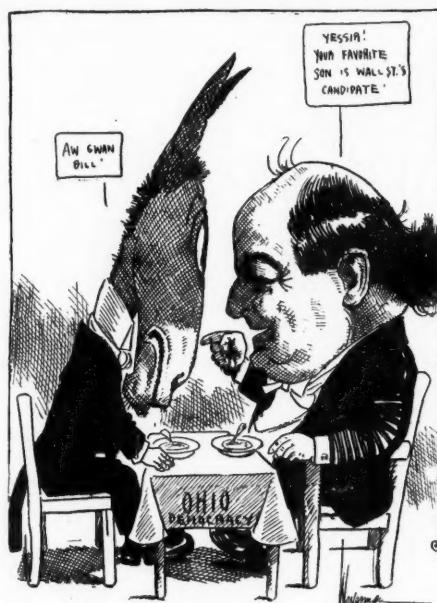
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GOVERNOR JUDSON HARMON OF OHIO.

by the delegations from their own States. Four others are prominent behind the scenes and in party councils as candidates, but have not been openly or actively presented. The first four, as everybody knows, are Speaker Champ Clark, Governor Woodrow Wilson of New Jersey, Governor Judson Harmon of Ohio, and the Hon. Oscar Underwood of Alabama, chairman of the Ways and Means Committee. As the convention approaches, the calmer and more impartial minds in the Democratic party have perceived that all four of these men have borne the tests of the preliminary canvass surprisingly well. They have all carried themselves with dignity and sense, and have all made the impression of being sincere and able public men. The next four avowed candidates are Governor Foss of Massachusetts, Governor Baldwin of Connecticut, Governor Marshall of Indiana, and Governor Burke of North Dakota. These candidates have not tried to obtain delegates from other States than their own, but their

names have been kept before the public so that they will be familiar to all the members of the convention. The four important candidates not actively urged are William J. Bryan, Mayor Gaynor of New York, William R. Hearst, and John W. Kern, United States Senator from Indiana.

Governor Harmon Emerged First

These twelve candidates cannot be assigned in any exact way to the different elements that make up the Democratic party. Governor Harmon of Ohio was earliest in the field. He had been a member of President Cleveland's cabinet. He was elected Governor in 1908, Ohio giving its Presidential vote to the Republican ticket while decisively approving the Democratic candidate for Governor. He had cordially supported Mr. Bryan in the campaign of that year, and his victory pointed to him as the probable Presidential nominee in 1912. This probability was much increased by his second sweeping victory, when in 1910 he ran for another term. It seems to be the general opinion that his administration of State affairs has been strong and capable, and that it has confirmed the judgment of those who had believed him of Presidential size. He is regarded, however, as a Conservative rather than a Progressive, and is now strongly opposed by Mr. Bryan and his friends. He is said to have been favored by Wall Street, though upon what evidence we do not know.

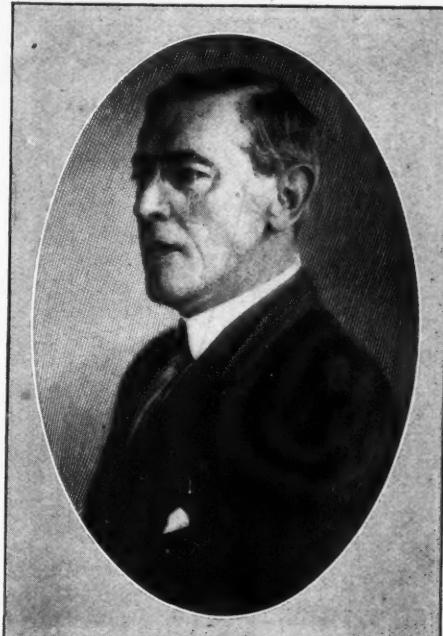


RIGHT IN THE HOUSE OF HIS FATHER!
(From the *Ohio State Journal* (Columbus))

Upon his record he deserves well of the party, and he seems to have kept the full confidence of the people of Ohio.

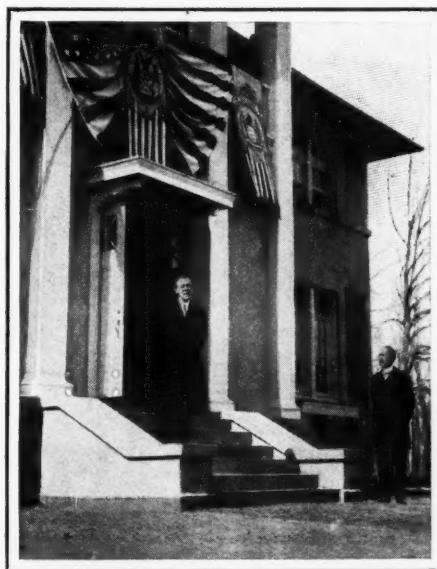
*The Candidacy
of Governor
Wilson*

When the retiring president of Princeton University was elected Governor of New Jersey, he became at once a national figure in the political world, as he had long been in that of education and of the scholarly discussion of political science and American history. At first Governor Wilson was regarded as an intellectual conservative, and a natural opponent of the Bryan-Hearst element. But a desperate fight with the Democratic machine in New Jersey gave Woodrow Wilson a rapid but complete course of instruction in actual American politics. He made many inquiries, visited the Western States, and frankly withdrew his former criticisms of certain devices and methods intended to make democratic government work directly and honestly. Governor Wilson could not compromise himself with corrupt machines, so he became a practical Progressive, because there seemed no other possible position for any man to take who was at once honest and intelligent as respects the political conditions under which we have been living. Governor Wilson soon replaced Governor Harmon as the leading



GOVERNOR WILSON OF NEW JERSEY

candidate. He was a younger man, almost unequaled as a ready and magnetic public speaker, and a representative of the highest culture and best ideals. It looked for a time as if Woodrow Wilson would almost certainly be nominated; and that his opponent would be President Taft. Under those circumstances it was also probable not only that Governor Wilson would be elected, but that as against Taft he would carry every State in the Union, North, South, East, and West,—with the exception of Utah and the possible exception of Vermont. But this brilliant climax in the Wilson boom came too early. It aroused intense jealousy among the other Democratic candidates, and a desperate hostility on the part of the great business interests which did not want a progressive (especially a stubborn one) elected President.



Photograph by the American Press Association, New York

GOVERNOR WILSON AT THE DEDICATION OF THE
TUBERCULOSIS PREVENTORIUM AT FARMING-
DALE, N. J., ON APRIL 25

(Marcus M. Marks, president of the institution, stands
at the right)

*Champ Clark's
Boom Came
Next*

The Hearst newspapers, with their wide circulation and great influence, turned their batteries upon Governor Wilson and proclaimed Speaker Champ Clark as the real and genuine Radical, and the one candidate whom all Democrats ought to support (unless, in the end, they might prefer to turn to Mr. Hearst himself). The attacks upon Wilson were equally bitter in the great newspapers controlled by so-called "big business" and



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HON. CHAMP CLARK, SPEAKER OF THE HOUSE

which were supporting Taft. Whereupon the Champ Clark boom grew apace and left Wilson's almost as far behind as Wilson's in turn had left Harmon's. In the primary elections in widely separated States, from Massachusetts to California, the Democratic voters, under primary laws giving them a fair chance to show their preference, came out strongly for Champ Clark. The Missouri man is a sturdy and picturesque character. He has been in Congress for about twenty years. He does not make enemies. He is honest and patriotic. He has long been a familiar lecturer on the Chautauqua platform circuit, and his name is well known. But while he has owed his success in the primaries very largely to the Hearst newspapers, and to certain personal qualities of his own, it remains for us to make the real reason for his unexpected triumph a little more plain and clear.

Clark's Congress Tucked the Tariff Let it be remembered, then, that the first and only chance the Democratic party as a whole has had, since the Spanish War, to do anything very important upon the national plane came

to it as a result of the Congressional elections of 1910. The new Democratic Congress was called into extra session early in 1911. In accordance with previous understanding, Champ Clark was at once selected Speaker. This Congress has commended itself to the country by its efficiency and harmony, and particularly by its series of tariff revision bills. Taft and the Republicans in 1908 had promised to revise the tariff, and had shamelessly broken their word. The country was disgusted, and rightly so. It showed its temper by giving the Democrats an overwhelming majority in the new Congress. The Democrats passed a series of bills revising the worst schedules of the tariff, and with the help of the progressive Republicans of the Senate these bills were carried successfully through both Houses. They had the unquestioned support of the public opinion of the country in both parties.

Clark Logically Against Taft President Taft vetoed these bills on pretexts that were wholly unconvincing. The fact of it is that the Ohio Wool Growers' Association, and kindred interests, had strongly asserted that if Taft did not veto the Wool bill they would see that he did not get the Republican delegates from Ohio to the national convention of 1912. The President had, indeed, been elected upon the distinct and solemn pledge of his party, emphasized and made personal by himself in 1908, to revise the tariff. And it was certainly a serious matter, under these circumstances, for a President to veto a tariff-revision bill that had passed both houses of Congress by large majorities, and that was overwhelmingly indorsed by the people of the country. There was a feeling that a Democratic Congress that could thus respond to public demands, and revise the tariff in a

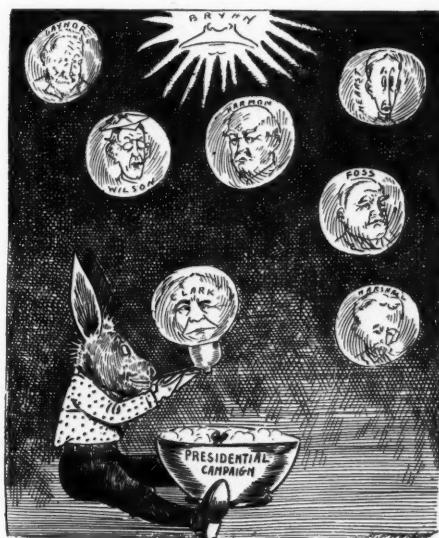


WILSON IN A "POCKET"
(In the Presidential race, the governor appears to be blocked by his competitors)
From the *Ohio State Journal* (Columbus)

sensible way without making any fuss about it, must have in it some strong men of Presidential caliber. Since this body of Congressmen had made Champ Clark its Speaker, the country naturally felt that he embodied, in some sense, the most important of recent Democratic achievements.

*Taft's Vetoes
Created
Clark's Boom*

Taft could have had the tariff fairly well revised in 1909, in keeping with Republican promises, if he had shown force and conviction and had stood firmly with those elements in the party that had given him his nomination and election. But he turned squarely away from the best conscience and leadership in his own party, and made himself the chief sponsor for a new tariff that kept the rates as high as ever. This is the chief reason why the country went so strongly against him in 1910. It was the universal opinion, on the day after election in November, 1910, that a Democrat would be the next President. Fate, however, has always been more kind to Mr. Taft than to other men; and it gave him, most unexpectedly, one more chance. Republicans and Democrats were united in 1911 upon a patriotic scheme of tariff revision, schedule by schedule. Mr. Taft used the veto power to obstruct a reform that he ought to have welcomed. It was never intended by the makers of the Constitution that a President should use the veto power against fiscal and revenue legislation agreed upon by Congress with substantial majorities in both Houses.



DEMOCRATIC PRESIDENTIAL BUBBLES
From the *News-Tribune* (Duluth)



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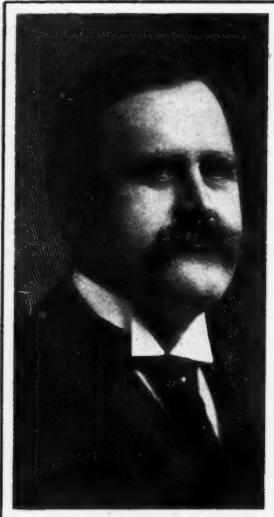
HON OSCAR UNDERWOOD

(The forceful Democratic floor leader of the House)

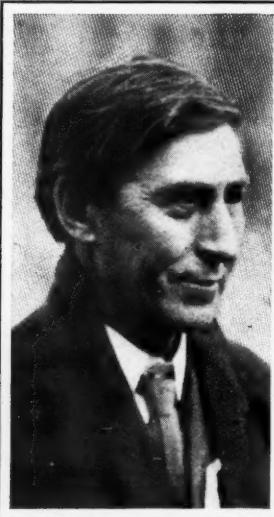
Grover Cleveland was profoundly disappointed with the final shape in which the Wilson tariff bill came to him, because special interests had weakened some of its best features. He could not sign it, but he allowed it to become a law. Mr. Cleveland was right in refusing to exercise the veto power. Mr. Cleveland, indeed, was tempted to veto a tariff bill in the interest of reform. Mr. Taft vetoed the tariff measures of 1911, and thereby obstructed reform. He took the wrong course in 1909, and again he took the wrong course in 1911. It is natural that the successful work of the Democratic Congress should result in the enlargement of some man's fame. Speaker Clark, as the figure-head of the Democratic House, naturally gets the benefit. His prominence as a Presidential candidate is chiefly due to the tariff situation that we have thus tried to elucidate.

*Underwood as
an Efficient
Statesman*

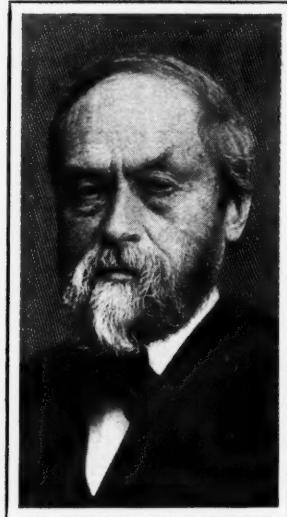
But Speaker Champ Clark is not the only Democrat to derive enhanced prestige from the work of this Congress. By radical changes in the rules of the House, the Speaker is deprived of the arbitrary power that was vested in his predecessors. Much of this power is now exercised by the Democratic members as a



GOVERNOR FOSS
of Massachusetts



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GOVERNOR BURKE
of North Dakota

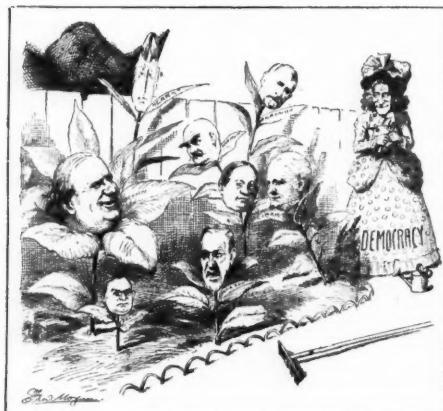


GOVERNOR BALDWIN
of Connecticut

THREE DEMOCRATIC "FAVORITE SONS" WHOSE NAMES WILL BE PRESENTED AT THE
BALTIMORE CONVENTION

whole, meeting from time to time in caucus. The tariff-reform program has been in the hands of the Ways and Means Committee and directed by its able chairman, Oscar Underwood of Alabama. With the help of sub-committees, Mr. Underwood has framed bills revising a number of the tariff schedules. These bills have one by one been submitted to the Democratic caucus of the House, and endorsed as party measures. With party harmony thus insured, and with a 2-to-1 majority over the Republicans, it has been easy for the Democrats to limit debate and

pass their bills. For the actual working out of this program Mr. Underwood, more than anyone else, is entitled to credit. He has shown great qualities as a floor leader and parliamentarian, and he is recognized as possessing masterly ability in the field of tariff and taxation laws. He is regarded as in a general way a conservative, and he has been brought forward by the Democrats of his own State as a Presidential candidate. He has also beaten Woodrow Wilson in the neighboring States of Mississippi, Georgia, and Florida. The Underwood movement is said to have had some support from certain financial interests in Wall Street, but it would not seem wise to attach much importance to a statement of this kind when intended as a slur. For it is true that Harmon, Wilson, and Clark have also been even more strongly accused of the same offense.



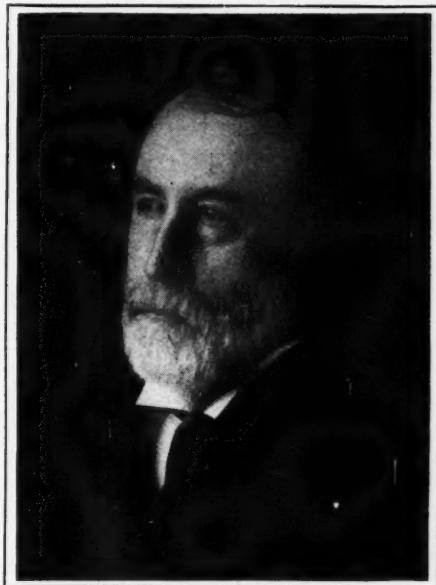
SOME FAVORITE "SUNFLOWERS" FOR THE
BALTIMORE SHOW
From the *Inquirer* (Philadelphia)

Four Less Prominent Candidates

Next we have to consider the four Governors whose names will be presented as "favorite sons" of their States. Governor Foss has long been active as a tariff reformer, and is a business man of wide experience. He makes a good Massachusetts Governor. Governor Baldwin of Connecticut has long been the dean of the Yale Law School, and represents the best element of the old-line Eastern Democracy. Governor Marshall of Indiana is a man of originality and force, whose personal equation

is not at all known to the country at large. Governor Burke of North Dakota is understood to be progressive and courageous, a man of native strength of mind and will. But he is not yet widely enough known to be regarded as a national figure.

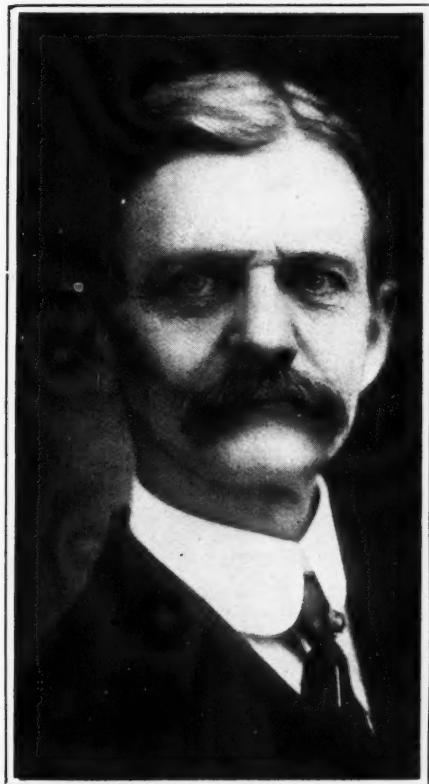
*Will Gaynor
Be Brought
Forward?* The ninety delegates from the State of New York are said to be under the control of Charles F. Murphy, the head of Tammany Hall. This of course is true only within certain bounds and limits. The delegation is instructed to act as a unit, however; and although it contains a number of men of independent judgment, it is undoubtedly true that a majority of the delegation will support the views and decisions of the Tammany leader. It is said to be quite possible that this New York delegation may favor the nomination of Mayor William J. Gaynor of New York City. If it had not been for the Mayor's slow convalescence after the dastardly attempt upon his life in the summer of 1910, he would almost certainly have been



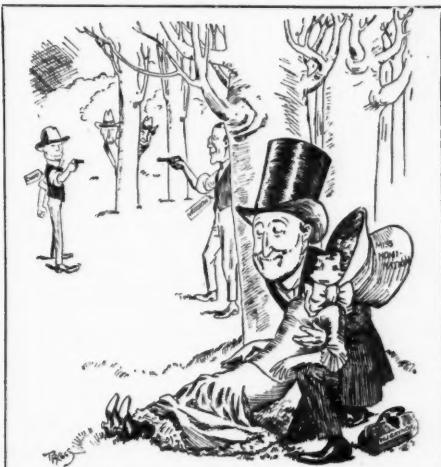
MAYOR GAYNOR, OF NEW YORK

(Who would be a strong candidate for the nomination at Baltimore with New York's ninety delegates behind him)

nominated and elected Governor instead of Dix. And under those circumstances it is equally probable that he would have been a very strong candidate for the Presidency. Judge Gaynor is a man of originality and power, with strong convictions and a rare gift of terse expression. If the New York delegation should decide to present his name there is a chance that he might be nominated.

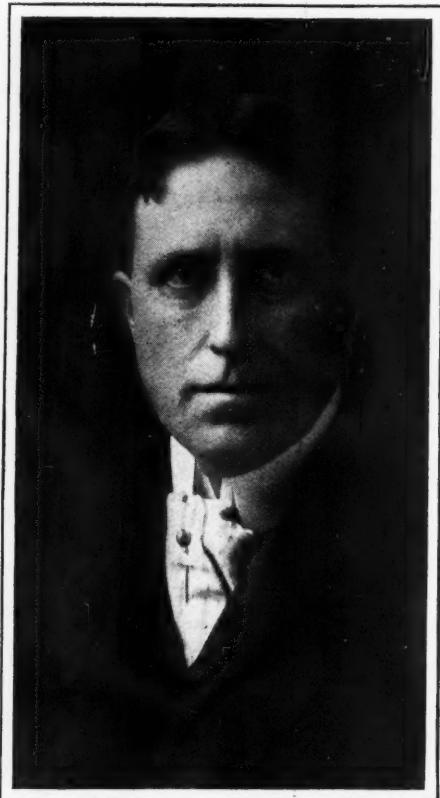


GOVERNOR MARSHALL, OF INDIANA
(A prominent candidate for the Democratic nomination)



HERE'S A SITUATION!

While the two principals pop at each other on the Field of Honor, the Beautiful Maiden (Miss Nomination) faints away into the arms of the sympathetic doctor
From the *Press* (New York)



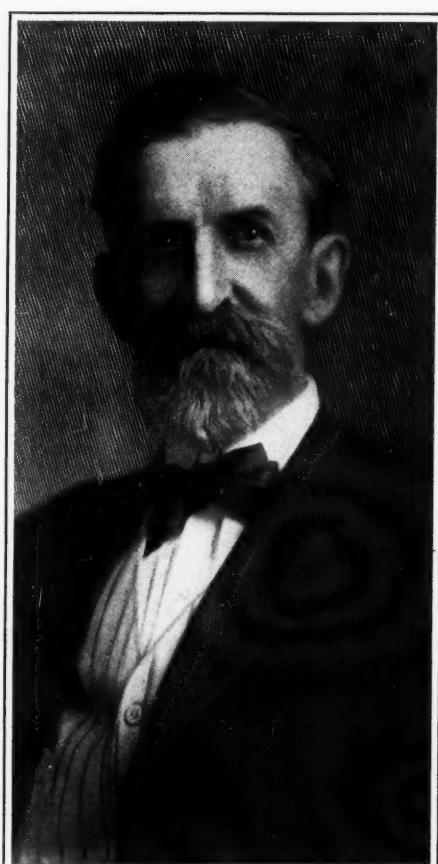
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HON. WILLIAM R. HEARST

*Hearst, Kern
and Bryan*

While Speaker Champ Clark will undoubtedly have a strong lead over the other candidates on the first ballot, it is by no means certain that he can gain a majority,—much less a two-thirds vote,—in the convention. In case of his failure, Mr. Hearst is supposed to be the residuary legatee. But Mr. Hearst is not as yet an active or direct candidate. It has been said in political circles at Washington that the real "dark horse," whom Mr. Bryan and his friends are intending to bring forward, is John W. Kern, now Senator from Indiana, who ran on the ticket with Bryan in 1908. Mr. Kern is better fitted for the Presidency than some men who are much more widely known and acclaimed. But he seems never to have acquired the art or habit of publicity. There is nothing dramatic about him. Finally, there is always Mr. Bryan himself. If he is not his own candidate this year, he is undoubtedly the favorite of a great number of his fellow Democrats. In the case of a deadlocked convention with many fruitless ballots, it is quite conceivable that Mr. Bryan might be nominated.

The Basis of Democratic Hopes A few months ago the prospect was that Mr. Taft would be nominated by the Republicans and overwhelmingly defeated at the polls. It was perfectly well known that the Republican party was strongly progressive in its sentiments and not in favor of Mr. Taft's renomination. But, under the old system, a President can almost inevitably force his control upon the convention if he is not too conscientious to use the whole power of his office for his own personal ends. The federal machinery was used to secure Taft delegates from those Southern States where there is no Republican party except as it exists for the sake of holding postmasterships and other federal offices. It was believed that the alliances made by the Taft federal machine with the State machines controlled by a few men in New York, Pennsylvania, Indiana, Illinois, and other great States, would give the President his renomination. The Demo-

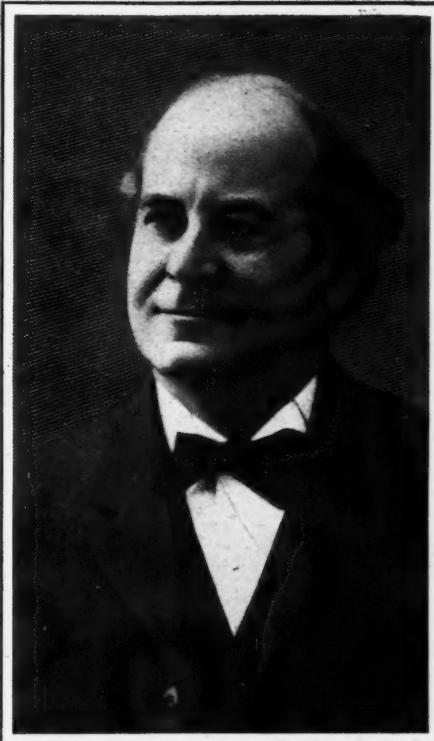


SENATOR JOHN W. KERN OF INDIANA
(Who is spoken of as a Democratic "dark horse")

crats were reckoning upon this, and were exerting themselves in all sorts of indirect ways to make sure of Taft's success at Chicago. They were certain that they could beat him upon the record he had made. The Republicans, on their part, were in a deeply embarrassing position. There seemed nothing to do but nominate Taft, accept deserved defeat in November, and rely upon future Democratic blunders to give Republicanism a fresh start for 1916.

*Unexpected
Republican
Vigor*

But the Democrats were counting their chickens too early. They underestimated the vitality that was inherent in the great mass of the Republican party. The party had been victorious as long as it had moved with the forward trend that had been characterized under the leadership of McKinley and Roosevelt. Mr. Roosevelt as President had been entirely ready for the revision of the Dingley tariff, but he saw that such things had to come when conditions were ripe for them. He had ascertained by the most careful inquiry throughout the whole country that the tariff could not be revised until after the election of 1908. He was equally convinced that the tariff could be very materially reduced after that election. If he had yielded to the universal demand of the party, and had been reelected in 1908, he would have voiced the demand for real tariff revision, and a Republican Con-



HON. WILLIAM JENNINGS BRYAN,—A RECENT SITTING

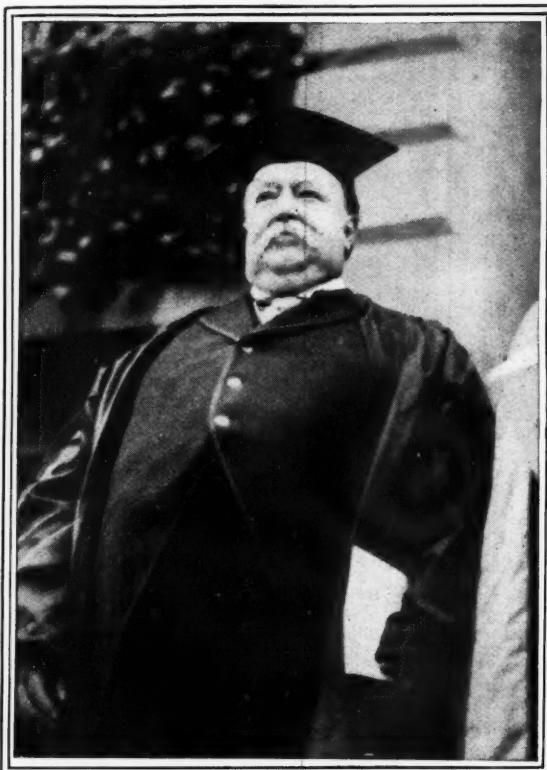
gress would have coöperated with him in reducing the duties all along the line. Nobody could know in advance that Mr. Taft was wholly lacking in qualities of leadership, and also that he was without firm convictions upon great public questions. While, then, it would have been quite logical to renominate Mr. Taft in 1912,—in order that the mistakes of his administration might be condemned at the polls by means of Democratic victories in every State of the Union,—there were several millions of Republicans who had never been in sympathy with those mistakes, and did not propose to share in the punishment if they could help it. They wanted to get what was in fact their own party out of the hands of the machines and politicians, and set it back in its true and progressive course,—the course of McKinley and Roosevelt,—right now in 1912, instead of waiting to get the new start in 1916.



"CAMPAIGNING FOR HARMON"
(Mr. Bryan on the stump against Harmon in Ohio)
From the *Ohio State Journal* (Columbus)

*Taft's Fight
Against His
Own Party*

Mr. Taft, with what seems to have been a hopeless lack of ability to understand things as they really are, announced that he would "fight" for his nomination. Since there was



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PRESIDENT WILLIAM HOWARD TAFT AS HE APPEARED
LAST MONTH AT THE INAUGURATION OF THE NEW
HEAD OF PRINCETON UNIVERSITY

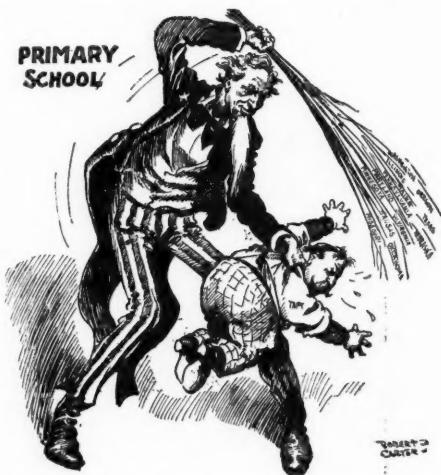
nobody else to fight against, this could only mean that he would fight against his own party, from which the nomination would have to come. He has made the fight; he has done it at the expense of the dignity of the Presidency; and he has failed. Never before in the history of the country has the President virtually abandoned the work of his great office in order to obtain a second term. A wholly mistaken notion of how to attain this one object of his ambition has been at the root of every fundamental error of judgment in matters of public policy that Mr. Taft has made. Lincoln, McKinley, and Roosevelt were all renominated while in the Presidency, but their successes came to them by means the exact opposite of those adopted by Taft. It is plain that the Republican party was determined to get back into vital, open, and sincere relation to the questions and issues of the present time. To do this, the party had to find some way by which it could act with authority. It adopted the direct-primary system and the plan of Presidential prefer-

ence voting, in order to rescue itself from little groups of bosses and so-called "leaders" who controlled the political machinery and lubricated it with money contributed by large corporations.

*The Party's
Drafting of
a Leader*

The time that remained was very short, however, and it was necessary, not only to protest against the methods that were being used to force Taft's renomination, but also to find a candidate around whom the members of the party could rally and whose name could be put upon the voting papers in the primary elections. Senator La Follette did not prove to be a strong enough leader for the emergency. Mr. Roosevelt, against his own wishes and intentions, was persuaded to take the lead. He was wholly out of politics, and the great combination controlling the party machinery boasted everywhere that Roosevelt had been shorn of all prestige and influence. His series of brilliant victories, therefore, has been all the more remarkable for that very reason. They have been the victories of a principle even more than of a man. It has not in the least been a mere personal squabble between Mr. Taft and Mr. Roose-

velt. Thousands of people are supporting Roosevelt who would personally have preferred



"I AM BEING HIT BELOW THE BELT"
From the *Times* (Washington)

Taft, if only Taft had made it possible for them to stand with him. The people who are now bent upon nominating Roosevelt are the ones who nominated Taft four years ago and who had expected to find him deserving of a second term.

Principles, Not Individuals They have not turned away from Taft merely because they want Roosevelt, but because Taft has become completely identified with methods and principles that are repugnant to them. Mr. Roosevelt, on the other hand, has identified himself with the principles of progress and of government for the general welfare. There has been a pitiable attempt on the part of men who should have used their intellectual powers more sincerely, to divert the issue and to attack Roosevelt by a merely technical criticism of certain remarks of his upon judicial decisions. Everyone with moderate sense and judgment knows that there is great need in this country of reform in the administration of justice. No one is trying to break down the judiciary. How to improve

its work must be a matter of discussion. Mr. Roosevelt has been participating in that necessary process of analysis and debate. If his particular suggestions are not the best, they will be nowhere adopted; and he himself would not wish to have them put into effect. Meanwhile, however, this very discussion that he has helped to create is, in a hundred ways,—and in more than a hundred different localities,—already working toward improvement in the personnel and the methods of our courts.

The One Republican Course It is plain, then, that there were two courses open to the Republican party this year, and very small chance for compromise. One course was to renominate Taft, stand by the methods of his campaign managers, submit to the control of the State bosses and machines, glorify

the President and his record in a platform written by Mr. Barnes of Albany, bluff the affair through until November, and lose every State in the Union to the Democrats on Election Day. For under these circumstances it is quite safe to predict that Mr. Taft could not have gained a single electoral vote (unless by Mormon favor he could have carried Utah). The other course was not an agreeable one to conspicuous party leaders, because it meant the smashing of machines, the reorganization of the party, and the dispossession of many politicians who thought themselves firmly entrenched.

The Other Alternative The second course would let the party have its own way, and frankly exhibit its progressive convictions. This meant the repudiation of



Photograph by the American Press Association, New York

COLONEL ROOSEVELT AND HIS CAMPAIGN MANAGER,
SENATOR DIXON

Taft's tariff record, and of his kaleidoscopic attitudes and policies in the matter of dealing with trusts and corporations. And it meant a change in the spirit of government and administration even more than a reversal of policies. It is not easy for a party to go before the country and say: "We have been in power and have made a sad mess of things, but we propose to do differently, and we ask, therefore, to be given another chance." Yet this is not quite the situation as it shapes itself. A closer analysis shows that there have been two elements struggling for the use of the Republican party's name and emblem. Mr. Taft was supposed to belong to the progressive element; but as soon as he was elected he turned about and went over to the reactionaries. Since then, the two elements have become much more sharply divided. The progressives have declined to make any entangling alliances or compromises with the other wing. Taft, on his part, assumed openly to read out of the party all of the progressive leaders, though many of them had been far more conspicuous Republicans than he had ever been. He has compelled a fight, and he will be eliminated.

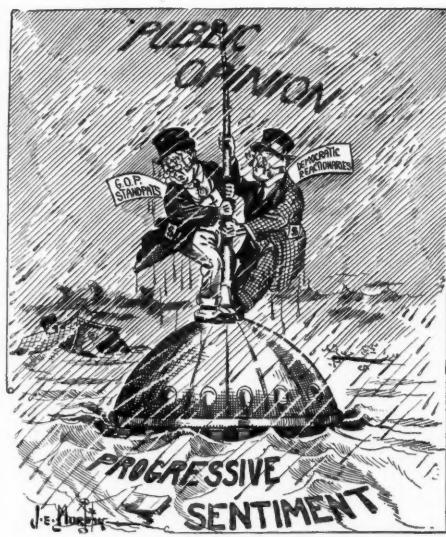
The New Situation

For a long time past this magazine has been informing its readers that the Republican party, in the rank and file, was strongly in sympathy with the progressive element. The progressive Republican leaders in the Senate have been even more actively identified with tariff reform than have the Democratic Senators. If the Taft element should now capture the Chicago convention, and the Democrats should fail to make a strong nomination at Baltimore, there would certainly be a progressive ticket in the field by the first of August. As matters now stand, it does not seem probable that there will be any ticket in the field that would have to assume responsibility for the record of the Taft administration. Even if Mr. Roosevelt—for any reason not now foreseen—should fail to receive the nomination, there could be no compromise dictated by Mr. Taft. In fact, those more conservative Senators and party leaders who have been regarded as most strongly supporting the administration, have not been its ardent friends behind the scenes. They have never believed that Mr. Taft could be elected again, and for some weeks past they have whispered that he could not be nominated. They also are aware that if Mr. Roosevelt should not himself be nominated, the choice would have to devolve upon some one of as clear a progres-

sive record as Senator La Follette or Senator Cummins. With respect to the great pending questions of tariff revision and the regulation of trusts, Senator Cummins of Iowa is to-day the foremost Republican leader in either House of Congress, and his position is frankly opposed, in the main, to that of President Taft. If Mr. Roosevelt should not be nominated at Chicago, the logic of the fight carried on within the Republican party for the past three years would give the nomination to a leader like Senator Cummins.

The Resistless Roosevelt Sweep

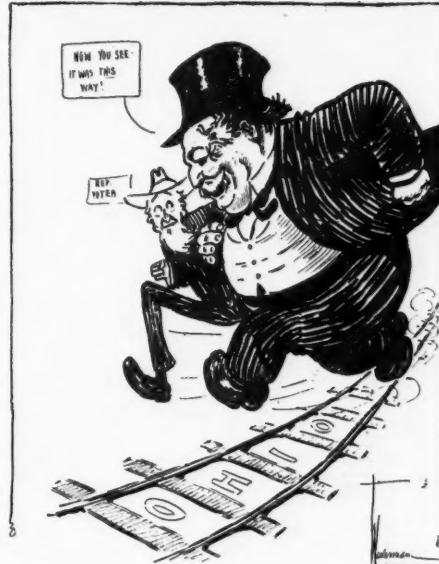
But a contingency of that kind does not seem probable. Mr. Roosevelt's great sweep of the primaries, all the way from New England to the Pacific Coast, has made it clear that the Republican party intends to ask the country to put him in the White House for one more term. It is not necessary to recapitulate this movement in detail. Pennsylvania, Illinois, and California were the most typical of the great Republican States that could have been selected to show Republican sentiment in the East, in the Middle West, and in the Far West. These great States, in open and honest primary elections, were carried overwhelmingly for Mr. Roosevelt. In Minnesota, which the Taft people had claimed to the last, the Roosevelt victory was equally decisive. Michigan would have gone against Taft in like manner, if he had consented to allow the new primary law to be put into effect this year. Indiana was strongly against Taft;



ANOTHER RISING FLOOD
From the *Journal* (Portland, Ore.)

but, under the old convention system that prevailed, the machine kept control. Massachusetts and Maryland were regarded as invincible Taft strongholds. The progressive movement in the old Bay State was started by several young men at a moment, some weeks ago, when there seemed little opportunity to make headway this year. But in both Massachusetts and Maryland the Taft strength was shattered. Mr. Taft had thought that frantic solicitation in his own State of Ohio,—on an appeal to State pride rather than to the merit of questions at issue,—might save the situation for him. But Taft had in any case made Ohio a Democratic State; and no results, one way or the other, at the primaries on May 21, could have saved his lost cause. For, at an earlier stage in the campaign, he and his friends had admitted that if Roosevelt should gain a clear majority of the delegates from Republican States it would be ruinous to force Taft's nomination by means of the "roped and tied" delegations from those Southern States in which there is no actual Republican party. And Roosevelt had gained his plurality of delegates from Republican States before Ohio expressed its choice.

Pennsylvania Aroused
Nobody can understand what has been happening in the Republican party who has not studied the situation in a great typical State like Pennsylvania. If it were merely that Roosevelt had beaten Taft in the Republican primaries it might mean much to some men



THE WHIRLWIND CAMPAIGN OF EXPLANATION IN OHIO
From *Ohio State Journal* (Columbus)

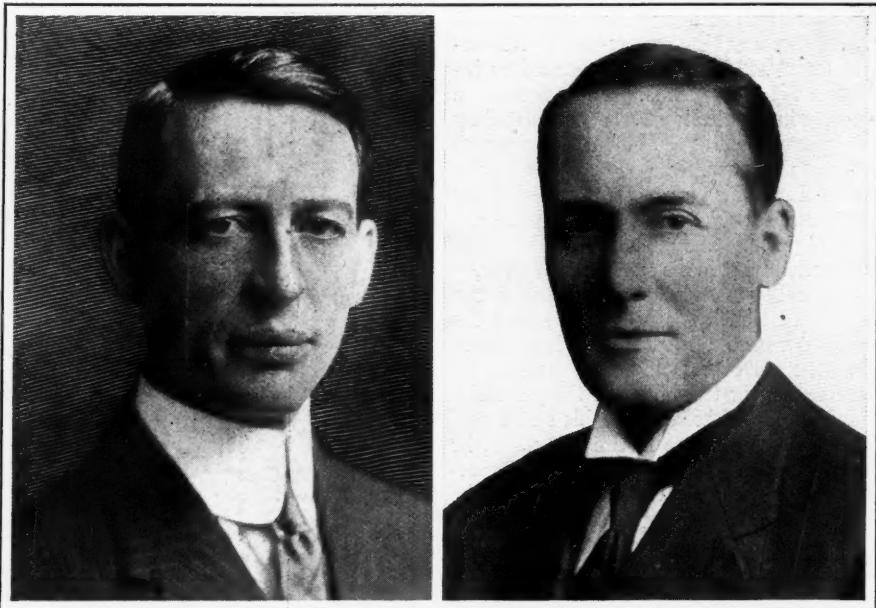
and little to others. But the thing that has come to pass is the overthrow of machine rule in the State, and a change as profound as that which was achieved in Philadelphia last year by the election of Mayor Blankenburg and the overthrow of the municipal ring. The State convention met at Harrisburg on May 1, and adopted a platform that is one of the most ringing and trenchant documents in all the political history of the United States. This platform is a trumpet call for government by the people and for the overthrow of conditions brought about by an alliance between machine politics and special privilege. Let it be remembered that this document is not the personal fulmination of some unsupported reformer, but the deliberate expression of the Republican party of Pennsylvania in the most truly representative gathering that it has ever held. If the things that Western progressive leaders stand for are radical, then this Pennsylvania platform is the most radical of all current Republican creeds. There is nothing that Mr. Taft has stood for in his recent campaigning, and in his larger policies, that this Pennsylvania platform does not denounce.



MOVING DAY
From the *Press* (New York)

A Militant Creed and Program

Being in the most complete control, the Pennsylvania progressives have arranged to elect State legislators and Congressmen holding to the principles of their platform, and they mean



HENRY C. WASSON

New chairman of the Republican State Committee

CONGRESSMAN STEPHEN G. PORTER

Chairman of the State Convention

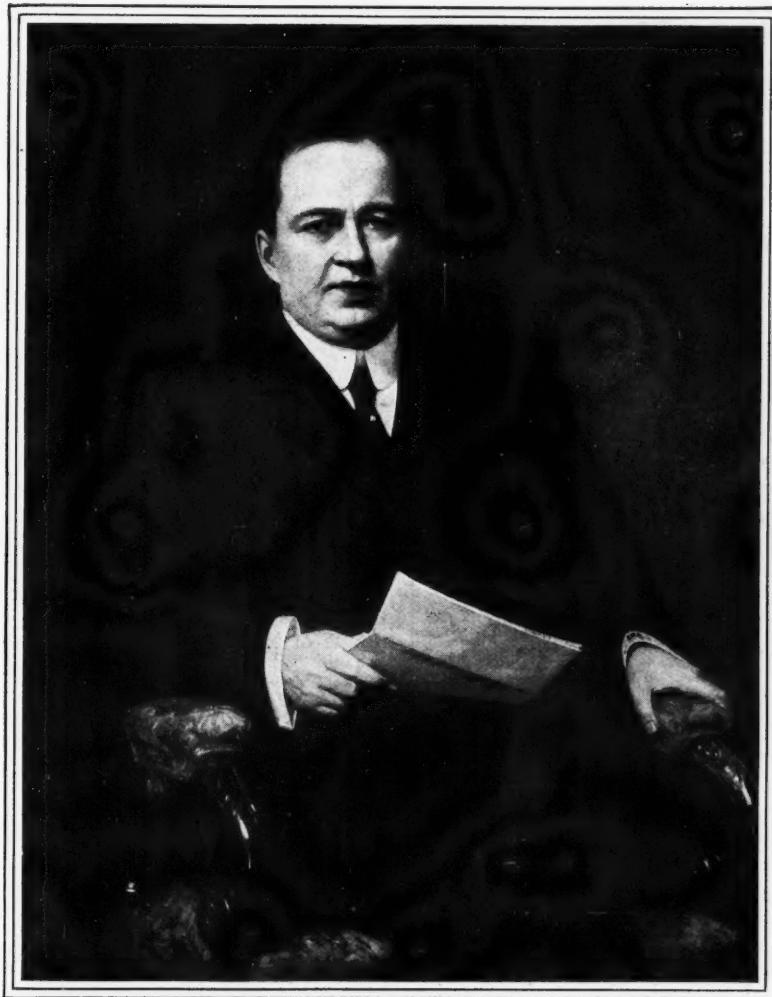
TWO LEADERS OF THE TRIUMPHANT PROGRESSIVE REPUBLICANISM IN PENNSYLVANIA

without delay to reform the laws and institutions of their State. These men are in earnest, and they will not compromise. The things that they have declared in their platform are in essence and in spirit the things that the great body of Republicans in the United States have come to believe. A Republican party, dominated by such sentiments, could no more be led to-day by a man like William Howard Taft than the Republican party of 1860 could have been led by a man of the temperament of James Buchanan or a man of the convictions of Mr. Vallandingham. The men who made the Pennsylvania platform, and who propose to give effect to its demands, hold in the most obnoxious form all of the views that Mr. Taft so scornfully denounced in his carefully prepared speech delivered in New York on Lincoln's Birthday of the present year. "Such extremists," he said, "are not progressives; they are political emotionalists or neurotics." He also said that "they would hurry us into a condition which would find no parallel except in the French Revolution." Mr. Taft, on the other hand, seems to have had just as little vision of real conditions as they had in Marie Antoinette's circle. His platform talk shows hardly more contact with the real trends of thought and conviction in

this country than the privileged class in France had with the forces that were about to destroy forever the iniquities of the old régime. It is precisely because the progressive Republicans have intense conviction, and are determined to overthrow governmental and political abuses, that there can be no compromise this year. Even the judicial recall has been embodied in the Pennsylvania platform,—although that is important in the end it wishes to gain rather than in its quality as a specific remedy.

*Mr. Bourne
and His
Constituency*

Senator Jonathan Bourne of Oregon must find this brilliant Pennsylvania platform a rather comforting piece of literature. When Senator Bourne was making his speeches on direct government and the rule of the people (speeches that have now been circulated in pamphlet form by the millions), he was regarded as a preacher of strange and subversive doctrines. But Pennsylvania, the greatest Republican State in the Union, has decided that it would rather have Senator Bourne's kind of government by the people than a government of political bosses, favored contractors, and corporation influences. It is a curious incident that,—at the very moment of nation-wide acceptance of most of his



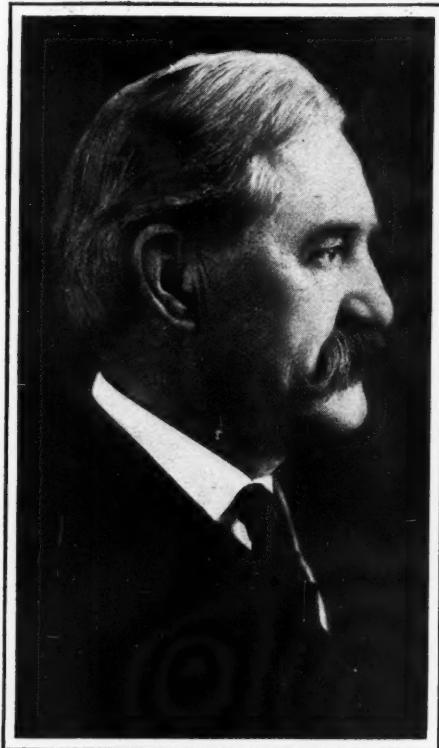
MR. E. A. VAN VALKENBURG, EDITOR OF THE PHILADELPHIA "NORTH AMERICAN"

The foremost apostle of reform and progress in Pennsylvania, and regarded as the chief author of the great Harrisburg platform.

views, and of his own enlarged position and influence in the Senate,—Mr. Bourne's Pacific Coast. If the people of Oregon have not had nominated him in the recent primary for another term. He had left it to them, and had made no speeches or canvass. He had merely sent a statement offering his further services if the people so desired. He has accepted the outcome with good temper, and has lost none of his faith in primary elections and direct popular action. Mr. Bourne is a good deal more of the philosopher and statesman than of the scheming politician. It is hard for a legislator who is working incessantly at his duties in Washington to keep his political fences in repair in a State on the somewhat failed in discernment and generosity, Senator Bourne is still a young man and Oregon will have ample opportunity to make amends in future.

*Cummins on
the Iron and
Steel Tariff*

The position of Senator Cummins and his friends on the tariff question is not changed or obscured in the face of a Presidential campaign. Senator Cummins announced last month that he would do everything in his power to induce the Senate to act upon the tariff bills that have come over from the other House



Photograph by Harris & Ewing, Washington

SENATOR CUMMINS, OF IOWA

before the session adjourns. This would seem to mean that Congress will not adjourn for the conventions, and that the session will run far into the summer. Mr. Cummins made an elaborate speech last month in favor of a radical revision of the metals schedule of the tariff, and declared that the American makers of iron and steel products were taking a hundred million dollars a year more from the public than was needed to maintain present wages and pay a reasonable profit upon the capital invested in the business. Senator Cummins further demanded an immediate treatment of the sugar schedule, the woolen schedule, and the cotton schedule. He denounced executive usurpation and the growth of methods by which the President attempts to dictate legislation and to coerce Congress. Certainly Mr. Cummins had adopted none of the blandishments that might be regarded as tactful in a compromise candidate for the Republican nomination. His argument for a revision of the metals schedule included a broad review of the whole tariff issue, and will stand as one of the ablest and frankest of recent speeches on that subject.

*Back to the
Promises
of 1908*

Mr. Cummins is a man of courtesy, but he is not a weathervane or a compromiser. The position he now takes upon the tariff is exactly the position that the Republican party took in its national platform of 1908, and that Mr. Taft subsequently abandoned. Mr. Cummins merely proposes that the entire Republican party should get back on the main track, from which he and his friends have never departed. Senator Simmons, of North Carolina, who has lately been acting as spokesman for the Democrats of the Senate Finance Committee, declared last month that it was the intention of the Democrats of the Senate to do everything in their power to secure action upon every tariff bill that came over from the other House before agreeing to an adjournment. It seems to be the plan of the Democrats in the Senate first to vote for the Underwood bills without change, then to accept such modifications as can be agreed upon with the progressive Republicans. It is natural to believe that a good deal of the work of Congress will be affected by the results of the party conventions.

*An Appeal
in the
Tobacco Case*

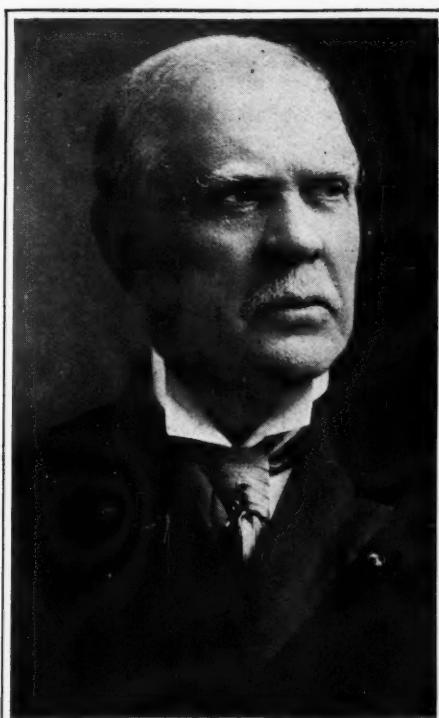
Late in April, Senator Cummins won a remarkable triumph against the Taft administration in the passage through the Senate, without a roll call, of his bill which allows the independent tobacco companies to appeal from the reorganization plan that had been worked out for the Tobacco Trust with the help of the Department of Justice. This is a subject to which we have made several previous references. The independent companies hold that the dissolution of the Tobacco Trust has been made a mockery and a sham through the sort of readjustment arranged by the trust's attorneys with the help of the Department of Justice and the concurrence of United States Circuit Judges in New York. Not only are a number of independent tobacco companies authorized to appeal to the Supreme Court, but also the State of Wisconsin and the chief law officers of four or five other States, together with a number of Boards of Trade,—all of these parties having demanded such right. It will be remembered that the tremendous movement in certain business circles for the renomination of Mr. Taft seemed to bear direct relation to the enormous advantages accruing to the Standard Oil owners and the Tobacco Trust owners from the lenient treatment they had received in rearranging their corporate forms to meet the views of the Department of Justice.

*More Money
for
Old Soldiers*

The Sherwood pension bill, as greatly amended and modified in the Senate, passed the House on May 10 and was signed by President Taft on the following day. For several years past the government has been paying out approximately \$160,000,000 annually for military pensions. The new bill will add about 20 per cent. to this amount, according to accepted estimates, although the addition may prove to be more. Several months ago it was reported upon high authority that President Taft did not believe in the Sherwood bill, and intended to veto it. We will not criticize his action or asperse his motives. We may, however, quote from the editorial comment of the New York *Evening Post*, a newspaper that has been the strongest Taft supporter among all the Taft papers of New York, except the *Times*. Says the *Post*:

President Taft's signing of the pension bill can be explained only as a yielding to strong political appeals. His advisers and campaign managers have no doubt pointed out to him the damaging use that would have been made of a veto in the critical Ohio primaries. . . . This fine opportunity to do a great national service was before President Taft, but he has been dissuaded from attempting to render it. That he would have flung himself into the breach, had it not been for the exigent political situation, there is good reason for believing. He has been preaching economy and working for it, yet he consents to sign away \$25,000,000 a year in needless gratuities. No one has a clearer understanding than he of the principle at stake. He knows perfectly that this huge pension fund, secretly distributed, has become the sinews of war for politicians, and that no more threatening scheme has ever been devised, not merely to bind new burdens upon the taxpayers, but to eat away political purity. Yet political motives and the pleadings of his supporters have been able to sway him from doing the right thing.

It will be seen that the *Evening Post* does not give Taft the smallest credit for any sympathy with the Pension bill itself. It flatly accuses him of sacrificing his public duty for his own private ends. At least the managers of the Pension bill are to be congratulated upon the shrewdness with which they chose the moment for putting it into Taft's hands. Let us be more generous than the *Evening Post*, and try to believe that Mr. Taft has changed his views and likes the new pension legislation. In that case he may expect to have another pension bill to sign next winter; for in the near future the dollar-a-day measure for all survivors is likely to pass Congress. At least it should always be remembered that pension money goes directly back to the people. An undue burden, however, is put upon the South, which pays much more than it gets.



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HON. ISAAC R. SHERWOOD, OF OHIO

(General Sherwood, who framed the original measure which formed the basis of the Pension bill that passed both Houses of Congress last month and was signed by the President, is a Democrat and Chairman of the House Committee on Invalid Pensions. He is himself a veteran of the Civil War. Enlisting as a private from Ohio, he served with distinction throughout the war, and was mustered out as a brigadier-general of volunteers late in 1865. He was twice elected Secretary of State of Ohio, three times elected a judge, and is now serving his fourth term in Congress. General Sherwood is seventy-six years old, and is the oldest member of the House of Representatives)

*Senators to
be Elected
Directly*

At length the amendment to the United States Constitution providing for the popular election of Senators has been adopted by both Houses of Congress and sent forth upon its round of the State Legislatures. It will have to be ratified by three-fourths of these in order to become effective. The only cause of recent delay at Washington has been due to Southern objections raised against the possible future federal control of elections. All of the States are, in fact, fully convinced that direct rather than secondary election of Senators is desirable. It was on May 14 that the Democratic house accepted the Senate measure, receding from its former attitude toward the Bristow amendment. Two days later, Mr. Barnes of Albany,—who has now been accepted by his wing of the party as its chief



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SENATOR BRISTOW, OF KANSAS

source of wisdom upon constitutional law and the principles of government,—denounced the popular election of Senators and all other items of the progressive program at a banquet given in his honor by his loyal and admiring followers in New York. The warnings of Barnes and Taft, however, against these innovations seem to be falling upon the deaf ears of a nation bent upon rushing to its own destruction. For instance, although Barnes was duly reported in the Boston morning papers of the 17th, the Massachusetts House on that very same day, by a unanimous *viva voce* vote, ratified the amendment, in accordance with which Senators Lodge and Crane will have to submit to the direct action of the people when they seek new terms. It will take two years, however, for the amendment to find a sufficient number of Legislatures in session to become a part of the Constitution of the United States. The Lorimer case, which is still pending, with the hundreds of printed pages of testimony and report that have already appeared, furnishes an excellent concrete example of the reasons why it would be well to elect Senators by direct vote. Almost half of the States, realizing the great need of such a reform, have already ingenious ways by which to make the action of the Legislature nominal and to give the people the

real choice. There are some things that are worked out in our institutions through the process of experience.

*Long-
Continued
Floods*

The high water in the Mississippi and its tributaries which in April had brought ruin and distress to cities, villages and farms for hundreds of miles in the lower valley, receded for only a brief interval, to be followed in May by even more destructive floods caused by heavy rains. The fatalities, which had been numbered by scores, quickly mounted into hundreds. In Louisiana there were picturesque fights with the river at several points. New Orleans itself was in grave danger at one time, and at Baton Rouge, the State capital, Governor Sanders headed a party of dike-builders made up partly of University students and partly of convicts, who filled sacks with sand and by raising the dikes in this manner saved the town. All the facilities of the government were taxed to provide food and shelter for the destitute survivors. Congress appropriated more than a million dollars for relief measures, and private benevolence nobly supplemented this fund; but the destitution and suffering were appalling. Efforts to estimate the property loss were given up as futile. Since the San Francisco fire, in 1902, the country has suffered no calamity approaching these floods in magnitude. It was not until the middle of May that the lower Mississippi began to resume its normal stage of water and even then the upper stretches were threateningly high.

*The Floods
and the
Crops*

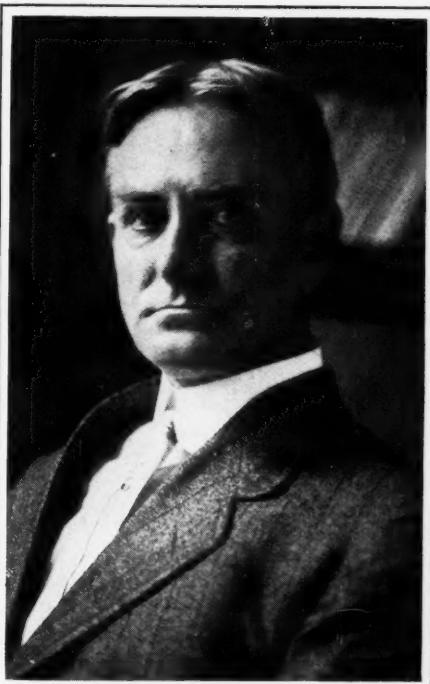
One effect of the Mississippi floods that has perhaps not been properly estimated in the North is the setback that has been given to the planting of the cotton crop. In Mississippi, Louisiana, and Texas, the cotton should all have been in by May 10, but on that date thousands of acres were still under water and the acreage of completed planting was far below normal. Experts name 12,000,000 bales as the required supply of cotton for the coming year (last year's crop was 16,000,000 bales), and it must be admitted that reports from the cotton districts last month indicated a serious shrinkage in acreage. Corn-planting in the upper portion of the Mississippi Valley was retarded almost as much as cotton-planting in the lower portion. Indeed, weather conditions this spring have been abnormal throughout the country.

A National Chamber of Commerce

In April the National Chamber of Commerce of the United States was organized at Washington by 600 delegates from various local commercial organizations who had been called together by Secretary Nagel of the Department of Commerce and Labor. Secretary Nagel's plea for the formation of such a body was based on the national government's need of assistance in dealing with the economic problems that are continually coming before it under the modern methods of governmental supervision and regulation of business affairs. In foreign countries, notably Great Britain, where politico-economic relations have long been more clearly articulated than in America, such organizations have become well established as recognized adjuncts of the governmental departments. In fact, the British Board of Trade is itself an integral part of the government. Heretofore in this country there has been no national organization representing trade or industry as a whole; hence the often-deplored lack of coöperation between the government at Washington and the great business interests of the country, notably in the matter of tariff revision. The government now announces its desire to welcome assistance from the business interests in promoting the common welfare of the country. There seems no reason why an association of this character, representing the boards of trade, chambers of commerce, and like organizations in every State of the Union should not be able to render valuable service in this direction.

Pay the School Teachers!

In one of its chief functions,—that of keeping the country accurately informed about the public schools and what they are doing,—the United States Bureau of Education has made marked progress of late. While statistics of school attendance are still deficient in some respects, the Commissioner of Education, Dr. Claxton, is able to report with a fair degree of assurance as to the average amount of schooling received by American children during school life—that is, from five to eighteen years of age. It seems that each child attends school for five years of ten months each. This is far below the ideal set up by the compulsory education laws in many of our States, but if competent instruction could be assured in all schools the five years would mean a great deal in the child's development. Unfortunately, the average pay of teachers in many States is much too low, as Dr. Claxton points out, to obtain the services of men and



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DR. P. P. CLAXTON
(United States Commissioner of Education)

women of sufficient native ability, training, and experience to guarantee good work. In eleven States the average annual salary of teachers is less than \$400, in eight it is less than \$300, and in two it is less than \$250, while the average for all teachers, including those in the big cities and in the high schools, is less than \$500. In these days almost any self-respecting cook or housemaid would spurn such recompense. Less than one-half of the teachers in the country at large have had adequate preparation for their duties. It is not surprising that very few teachers remain in the work long enough to gain much experience. In several States from 20 to 30 per cent. of the teachers every year are beginners. The country is indebted to Commissioner Claxton for his service in directing attention to these unpleasant facts. What the situation calls for is a nation-wide campaign to raise teachers' salaries. Meanwhile the new Children's Bureau, under the direction of Miss Julia C. Lathrop, of Chicago, may be expected to make an intelligent and helpful study of American childhood. The federal government, through the Bureau of Education and the Children's Bureau, is concerning itself, more directly than ever before, with the conditions surrounding child life in this country.



MRS. H. L. ELMENDORF
(President of the American Library Association)

*Librarians
in
Conference* Following the recent examples of the Conference of Charities and Correction and the National Education Association, another important national body, the American Library Association, has chosen a woman as its president. The annual meeting of the association, to be held at Ottawa, Canada, from June 26 to July 2, will be under the capable guidance of Mrs. H. L. Elmendorf, of the Buffalo Public Library. The program of the Ottawa conference will be concerned very largely with the relation of the library to individuals. The calling of librarianship is now rightly dignified as a profession. The requirements for entrance to it are exacting and the men

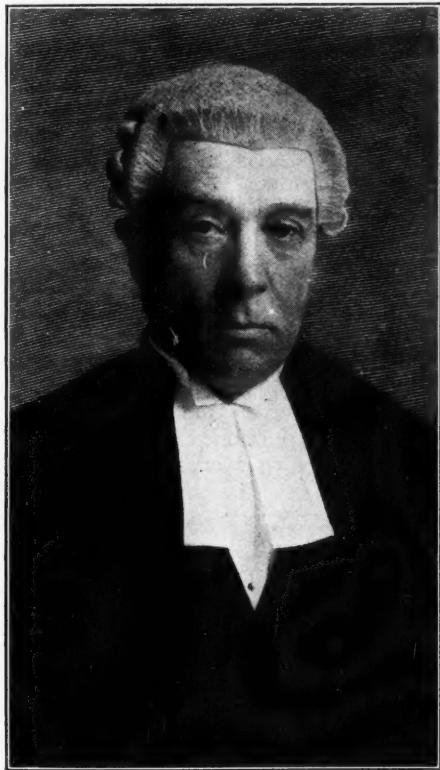
and women who fill its ranks are as truly educators as are the teachers in our public and private schools. The meeting at Ottawa, over which Mrs. Elmendorf will preside, will be addressed by President Vincent, of the University of Minnesota, and by other distinguished educationists.

Good Roads The American Association for Highway Improvement deserves a large membership and substantial support. This organization advocates the "correlation of all road construction" throughout the country. Every State in the Union is a good mission field for the society's propaganda. All road improvement, as well as the building of new roads, should be worked out on some general plan. The important roads of one county should connect with those of the neighboring counties, and eventually there should be evolved an interstate system of highways. The railroads are providing "good-roads trains" to further this movement, which is headed by Director Logan W. Page, of the United States Office of Public Roads.



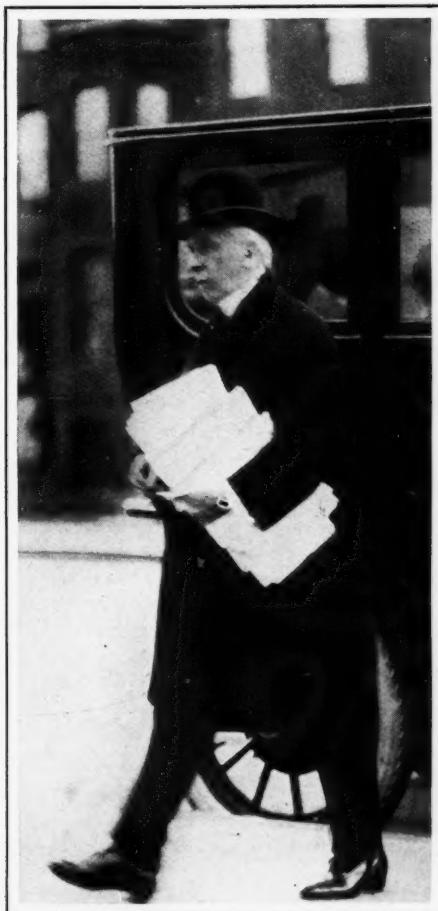
MISS JULIA C. LATHROP
(Chief of the new Children's Bureau at Washington)

*The
Titanic
Investigation* The American investigation into the causes of the disaster to the *Titanic* and the responsibility therefor began upon the arrival, at New York, of the liner *Carpathia* with the survivors. The Senate appointed a sub-committee of its regular committee of Commerce, consisting of Senators Smith of Michigan, Chairman; Perkins of California; Bourne of Oregon; Burton of Ohio; Fletcher of Florida; Simmons of North Carolina; and Newlands of Nevada, to conduct an inquiry, the purpose of which was "to get all the facts bearing upon this unfortunate catastrophe that it is possible to obtain." A few days later the British Ministry also appointed a Commission of Inquiry consisting of Lord Mersey, one of the most eminent living British jurists, and a number of experts, including Sir Rufus Isaacs, the Attorney General, to conduct an investigation under the authority



LORD MERSEY, PRESIDENT OF THE BRITISH COMMISSION OF INQUIRY

(An eminent British legal authority; a member of the South African Committee of 1896-97; of the Royal Commission for the Revision of Martial Law Sentences in 1902; a Judge of the King's Bench; and President of the Admiralty Division of the High Court of Justice)



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SENATOR WILLIAM ALDEN SMITH OF MICHIGAN,
CHAIRMAN OF THE AMERICAN TITANIC INVESTIGATION COMMITTEE

(Senator Smith, who is generally referred to in the British press as "the American who told Mr. Bruce Ismay he could not return to England," aroused some resentment by his energetic and prompt action in detaining the president of the White Star Line and his associates on American soil pending the investigation. Later a better feeling grew up between the committee and the White Star officials, and upon his departure, on May 2, for England, Mr. Ismay expressed himself as having no criticism to make of his treatment by the American committee)

and direction of the Board of Trade. Senator Smith, chairman of the American committee, took the chief part in drawing out testimony from the officials of the White Star line, the surviving officers, seamen and passengers of the *Titanic*, and officers and passengers of other vessels which were in the neighborhood of the great liner when she sank. He displayed a good deal of courage and persistence in the face of all sorts of pressure to desist from certain questions. Hearings were



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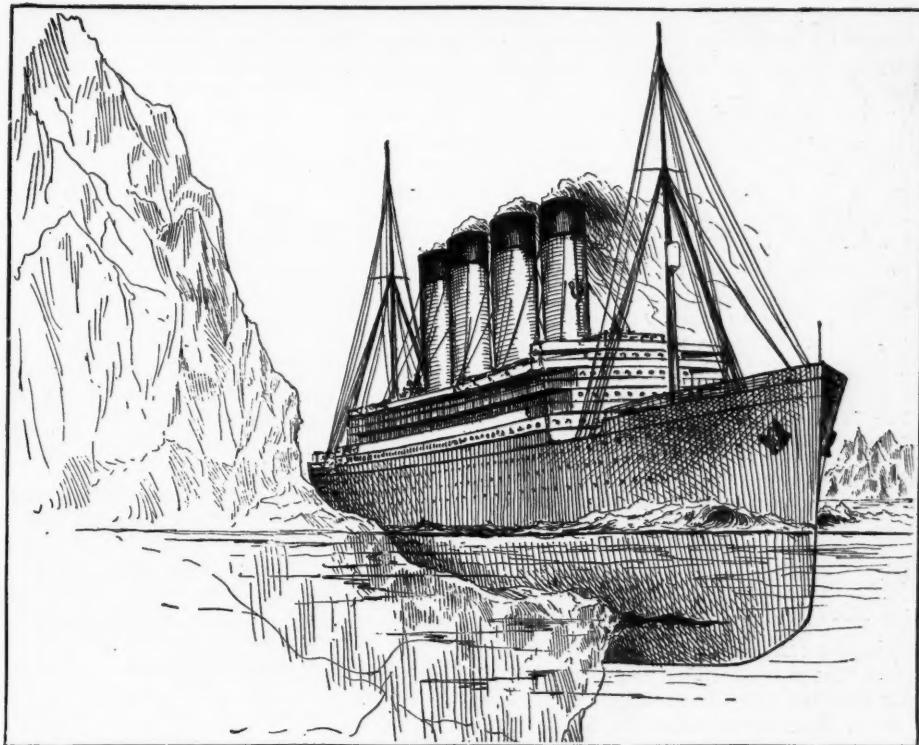
MR. ISMAY, HEAD OF THE INTERNATIONAL MERCANTILE MARINE AND MR. FRANKLIN, VICE-PRESIDENT OF THE WHITE STAR LINE, LEAVING THE INVESTIGATION ROOM IN NEW YORK

held in New York the day after the arrival of the *Carpathia*, on April 18, and later on, in Washington. Mr. J. Bruce Ismay, chairman of the Board of Directors of the International Mercantile Marine Company, which owns the White Star line, was summoned to appear before the committee, and his was the first important testimony. There was some discussion of the right of the Senate to summon foreign subjects as witnesses. Being in United States territory, however, there could be no question of the jurisdiction of the Senate in this matter. It should be said, further, to the entire credit of Mr. Ismay and his fellow officers, as well as the officials of other lines, that they gave no indication of any intention or desire to refuse to coöperate to the fullest extent with the object of the investigation.

*The
Indictment*

Despite certain discrepancies naturally to be expected under the circumstances, which included nearly 3000 people on such an immense vessel, the general testimony, with a remarkable approach to unanimity, agreed on these main facts for which it was sought to place the responsibility. The *Titanic*, with life-boat provision for saving only one in three of its passengers, proceeded at full speed through an iceberg region in which, according to three definite warnings, icebergs had been seen within ten hours. Contributing causes to the disaster, about which there was almost unanimous agreement, were a crew too few in number and insufficiently trained; a poorly paid wireless telegraph service, in operation for only part of the time; the failure to test thoroughly before starting the bulkhead doors and general electric equipment of the steamer; the lack of proper "glasses" for the lookout; and the obstinate belief of the officers, crew and many of the passengers in the unsinkability of the ship. This is an awful indictment, an incredible one, were not every detail of it attested to by scores of responsible witnesses.

What Happened to the Titanic It may be useful, at this point, to restate briefly what the daily press has taken columns, even pages, to describe—the bare facts in the case. The position of the *Titanic* when she hit the berg, as given in her calls for assistance by wireless, was latitude $41^{\circ} 46'$ North; longitude $50^{\circ} 14'$ West. This was about sixteen miles south of the regular westbound summer steamship route. The early reports that the *Titanic* was using the shorter, northern or winter route were erroneous. At this point in the ocean, some 1600 miles almost due west of New York, at a little before midnight on April 14, she collided with an iceberg which had come down in the Labrador current and was on its way southward. According to an expert nautical engineer, writing in the *Scientific American*, what actually happened (as far as the testimony can be relied upon and interpreted) was that a "massive, projecting, under-water shelf of the iceberg with which she collided tore open several compartments of the *Titanic*. The rent extended from near the bow to amidships and was similar to what would have happened had an immense can-opener gouged her side." The energy of the blow, according to this same writer, was 1,100,000 foot tons, equal to that of the combined broadsides of the battleships *Delaware* and *North Dakota*.



From the *Scientific American*

THIS, ACCORDING TO THE EXPERTS, IS WHAT ACTUALLY HAPPENED TO THE TITANIC

The Survivors and the Dead As soon as the blow was struck, bodies. When these ships returned to Halifax they brought the remains of 200 passengers and crew. Among these were the bodies of Col. John Jacob Astor, Isidor Straus and Charles M. Hays, of the Canadian Pacific Railroad. It is now estimated that the financial loss of the accident exceeded \$15,000,000. This included the value of the ship itself and the money and other personal property that went down with the vessel. A number of suits for damages under the British Workmen's Compensation Act have already been instituted, two of which were not only not opposed, but anticipated, the company having lodged the amount sued for with the court beforehand.

As soon as the blow was struck, the water began to flow in rapidly, and, according to the testimony of one of the steerage passengers, soon after midnight it had risen to a foot in depth in the third-class quarters. It was not until an hour or more after the collision that the wireless call for help was sent to Cape Race and the life-boats began to be lowered. Shortly after all the boats had left, most of them not full to more than one-third of their complement, the ship sank, bow first, disappearing at 2.20 o'clock in the morning. Those of the passengers, officers and crew who were in the boats, as well as some others who jumped from the sinking ship and by the help of life preservers afterward succeeded in reaching the boats, were rescued in the morning by the Cunard liner *Carpathia* which had responded to the wireless call for help. Altogether 705 souls were rescued out of a total of more than 2300 on board, making a total death list of 1600. As soon as all hope of all other rescues had been abandoned, the White Star line chartered two vessels, the cable ship *Mackay-Bennett* and the *Miriam*, and sent them to the scene of the disaster to search for the

The Ultimate Causes

The two main questions in which not only the investigating committee were interested, but which vitally concern the traveling public of the world, are: (1) Who is to blame for this appalling disaster? (2) What precautions can and should be adopted in the future against a repetition? It does not seem possible to prove criminal negligence. Rather, it is already evident that the disaster was due to

three causes: the faulty system of regulation of ocean travel for which the governments of the United States, Great Britain, France and Germany must, to a degree, be held responsible; the ever-increasing competition of most of the larger steamship lines to provide larger and faster vessels in which, of late years, the luxuries and elegances of travel have crowded out the appliances for safety, and the craze for speed and luxury demanded by the public and supplied by the steamships in response to the demand. Admiral F. E. Chadwick, in a letter to the New York *Evening Post*, the day after the tragedy, summed up the situation when he said:

The *Titanic* was lost by unwise navigation, by running at full speed, though so amply forewarned, into the dangerous situation, which might easily have been avoided. This is the fundamental, sad, and one important fact. It accounts for everything.

Less Speed, More Boats

When she struck the iceberg the *Titanic* was going at the rate of 21 knots ($24\frac{1}{2}$ miles) an hour, despite the warnings already given by passing ships of the presence of icebergs, and also despite the fact that the standing instructions of the White Star line to its captains are that they are to "run no risks"; that "the safety of lives of passengers is the ruling principle"; and that "it is the earnest desire of the management to ensure a reputation for safety." These were the rules, but how often an appalling disaster has shown how easily custom establishes many unwritten laws that override printed instructions! As one editorial writer has pithily put it, "not a single life on the *Titanic* was saved by the tennis court." Despite the great and expensive precautions taken to render the ship unsinkable,—which the passengers to their destruction devoutly believed to be true—the great amount of space taken up for luxurious appointments resulted in an insufficient number of life-boats, and the "unsinkable" ship now lies two miles below the surface of the Atlantic.

Results of the Inquiry

As a result of the inquiry Senator Smith proposes to recommend some radical new legislation for ocean passenger traffic. His ideas, as summarized in an interview in a New York newspaper, show plainly how useful his inquiry has been, and how undeserved have been the criticisms as to the sense and reason for his questions. He would have ocean liners hereafter equipped with double bottoms and fitted out with modern lifeboats, fully

equipped and supplied with food, sufficient in number to take care of every soul on board. There should be also, he thinks, searchlights, binoculars for the men on watch, and shorter hours of service for them. He also demands regular lifeboat drills with permanent crew stations; constant, day and night wireless service, under competent control of the captain, with adequate remuneration for the operators; some warning signal to the ship's passengers of an accident; and some plan to give passengers instructions concerning lifebelts and the proper procedure in entering lifeboats. Finally, he would compel all steamers to take the summer route in the iceberg season, and demand some hard and fast regulation as to the speed of a vessel in fog and when in the neighborhood of icebergs.

As to Wireless Control

Together with the tribute to the immense value of wireless telegraphy as demonstrated in bringing

the *Carpathia* to the rescue of the unfortunate in the lifeboats of the *Titanic*, there has come to the public mind a feeling that the great invention of Marconi has not yet been made as efficient as it might be. A more complete and stringent national government control of wireless operators and a better, more practical working arrangement between wireless apparatus on ships and those on shore stations seem to be highly desirable.

Reforms Already Introduced

Immediately after the disaster and before the completion of the American investigation, Mr. J. Bruce Ismay, in his capacity as President of the White Star Line, announced that a number of reforms would at once be instituted on the ships of his line, including the carrying of sufficient lifeboats for every person on board. Similar action was taken by other steamship lines. On May 1 a sweeping regulation was put into effect by the Government Steamship Inspection Service changing the regulations as to the number of lifeboats to be carried by sea-going vessels. Formerly the number of lifeboats required by law was based on tonnage; hereafter it will be regulated by "the number of passengers, officers and crew licensed to be carried." Furthermore, immediately after the first report of the accident to the *Titanic*, various steamship lines conferred with the United States Hydrographic Office, and all captains were instructed to take hereafter a new southern route intended to bring them many miles south of the icebergs, although adding 200 miles to the west-bound course.



PRESIDENT TAFT, THE CHIEF PLOTTER, AND AMBASSADOR BRYCE, HIS ACCOMPLICE, IN THEIR FAMOUS ACT OF THIMBLERIGGING GUILELESS GREEN JOHN CANUCK, POOR CHAP!

From the *Herald* (Montreal)

Canada and the Reciprocity Plot. An outburst of anger and excitement in both Canada and Great Britain followed on the publication, on April 25 by President Taft, of his letter to Colonel Roosevelt about Canadian reciprocity. In this letter, dated Washington, January 10, 1911, and marked "confidential," there occurred this paragraph.

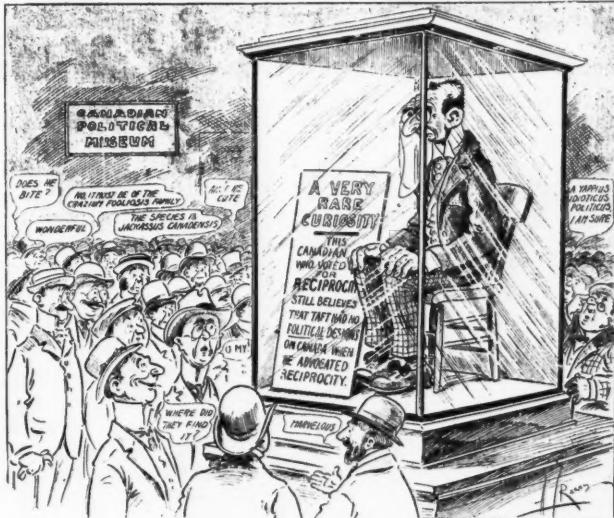
The amount of Canadian products we would take would produce a current of business between Western Canada and the United States that would make Canada only an adjunct of the United States. It would transfer all their important business to Chicago and New York with their bank credits and everything else, and it would increase greatly the demand of Canada for our manufactures. I see this is an argument against reciprocity made in Canada, and I think it is a good one.

When, last summer, Speaker Clark made his much criticized references to the possibility of annexing Canada, a wave of alarm, apprehension and anger swept the Dominion. Mr. Borden made the most of it in his fight against the Laurier government. Sir Wilfrid, on the other hand, and the advocates of reciprocity in the United States, ridiculed the idea that the proposed agreement was intended to do anything other than advance the interests

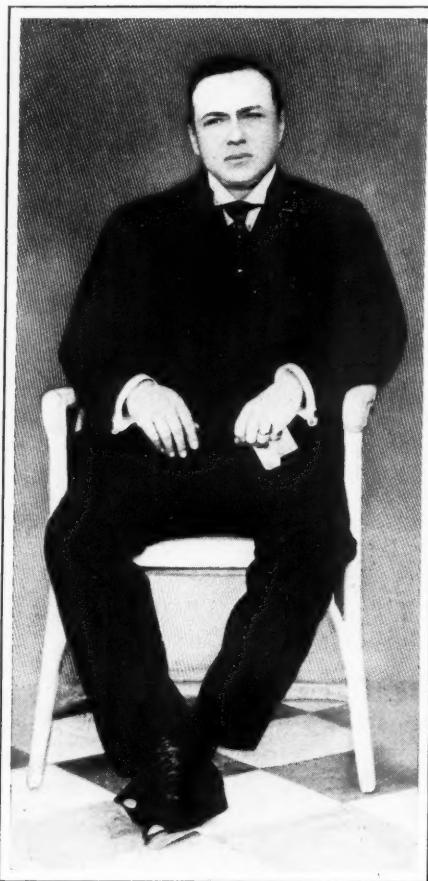
of both countries equally. Meanwhile the Canadians continued angry and distrustful, and, at the election, in September last, they swept Borden into office by a landslide. Since then the anti-American feeling in Canada has been subsiding, and the apparently fair attitude of President Taft has gone far to reassure our neighbors to the North. In a number of speeches, Premier Borden has emphasized Canadian-American good will, and the sentiment in favor of reciprocity, particularly in the West of the Dominion, as we have already pointed out in these pages, has been growing. Mr. Taft's frank statement to Mr. Roosevelt however, that he regarded the Borden argument as a "good one" and that reciprocity would make Canada "an adjunct to the United States" is regarded by Canadians generally as likely, not only to postpone reciprocity indefinitely, but to halt the progress of friendliness between the two countries for some time. The press of the Dominion and of Great Britain is apparently quite agreed on this point.

Some Canadian Views Canadian opinion is voiced by Mr. George Foster, Minister of Trade and Commerce, who said in an interview given out last month:

The veiled meaning in the President's phrase, "the parting of the ways," has been illuminated beyond all doubt. There can hereafter be no cavil as to the purpose underlying the reciprocity proposal or the reasons therefor. Canada was to become only an adjunct of the United States, her business was to go to Chicago and New York, with



THE GREATEST CURIOSITY IN THE CANADIAN POLITICAL MUSEUM
From the *Star* (Montreal)



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SEÑOR MANUEL CALERO
(The new Mexican Ambassador who says the better classes
in his country support President Madero)

her bank credits and everything else; her manufacturing was to be done by that country, and all this for the best of economic and political reasons. The majority of Canadians either knew or suspected this last September. Now the empire and the wide world know it certainly. By this latest full revelation President Taft has added to the obligations Canadians are under to him for his partial revelation last year. Reciprocity with the United States was dead before; now it is forever buried. The imputation and attack upon our nationhood and our imperial connection will never be forgotten by Canadians.

The press of England permitted itself to become very much worked up over the incident, and in the House of Commons there were even interpellations regarding what was characterized as Ambassador Bryce's "treasonable act" in supporting Mr. Taft's reciprocity proposals. The Ambassador's recall was dis-

cussed. Sir Edward Grey, however, in reply to these questions, declared that the conduct of Mr. Bryce (who is now on a leave of absence in New Zealand) was perfectly satisfactory to the British government; that he had acted in a perfectly constitutional manner in helping Messrs. Fielding and Patterson in working out the reciprocity pact. To have done otherwise, (we quote the Montreal *Star* editorially), "would have been an outrageous interference with Canadian autonomy." Meanwhile Speaker Clark's friends are viewing the matter with complacency. They regard it as a vindication. The Montreal *Herald*, however, sees a characteristic of American national politics in the incident. It observes:

Champ Clark in a speech declared that if we wanted Canada we would go and take it. Now President Taft publishes a letter of his own, in which he told of his plans for making Canada a mere "adjunct to the United States." And these two skilful diplomats are serious candidates for the Presidential nominations of the two great parties! Who can wonder that American public affairs constitute a standing joke for European observers!

The *Star* is a supporter of Borden, while the *Herald* favored Laurier. Yet, as we show in the cartoons which we produce on the preceding page, they are quite agreed as to the Taft letter.

The New Dissidents in Mexico

The attempt is being made by the partisans of Orozco and Zapata, the Mexican chieftains in revolt against the government of President Madero, to enlist the sympathies of the people of the United States. These leaders and their agents are claiming that the new movement is a struggle for human rights, and that Americans ought to aid and further it with the same moral coöperation they gave to the uprising which finally overthrew the régime of Diaz and brought Madero into power as constitutional president. But in reality the situation is now entirely different. By no stretch of the imagination can the Mexican insurgents at the present time be considered as deserving of the recognition or the sympathy of intelligent Americans. The insurrectos, it is true, have fought a number of battles against the government forces and have won a few. They have, moreover, raised a great cloud of discontent and controversy through which it is not easy to see clearly what is actually going on in the mountain fastnesses of Chihuahua and Morelos, as well as in the government departments at Mexico City.

Journalistic Humility

It is quite true, as the insurgents bitterly complain, that many of the rosy promises made by the followers of Madero have not yet been realized. Nor can there be any doubt of the correctness of the views of the *Mañana*, one of the most influential of the independent newspapers of the capital when, taking advantage of the freedom of the press established by the present régime, it says:

Not counting a few hundred visionaries, who verily believe that a nation like ours can be fit for democracy, a nation with seventy-five per cent. of unambitious illiterates, of twenty per cent. of ambitious, mischievous indifferents, and, at most, five per cent. of relatively well-meaning persons, we all hold the unconfessed, but nevertheless intimate and firmly fixed conviction, that we form an undisciplined, ignorant and hot-headed people, which, taken as a whole, is only able to march in good order under the clever and not half enough appreciated guidance of a General Diaz, who, although not exempt from human frailties and imperfections, better than any one else understood his people, giving us the treatment we really deserve, and having at the same time the good sense to let us think that we might deserve better things and might aspire to them later on.

Nevertheless, to Americans the attempt to thrust a reform President from office before he has had a fair opportunity to carry out his program, simply because a number of brigands like Zapata and Orozco have got the revolutionary habit, appears in the same light as the opera bouffe revolutions of some of the pseudo-civilized republics further south.

The Better Classes Favor Madero

The Madero government, as we have pointed out more than once in these pages, has already made a creditable beginning in its reform program. It is slowly but surely working out its agrarian policies and reorganizing the finances of the country. The retiring Mexican ambassador at Washington, Señor Crespo y Martinez, referred to the situation in his country last month in these words:

The conditions are not at all like those of a year ago. Then there was a popular and general demand for a change in the government, for a more liberal representation. The new government has started out well to bring about the desired changes, and I am assured that the more substantial classes favor giving President Madero and his advisers a fair trial.

The new ambassador, Señor Manuel Calero, reaffirmed these views, adding:

There is no anti-American sentiment in Mexico. Americans have taken too much stock in the reports forwarded to American newspapers. In

fact there is no anti-foreign sentiment of any kind. The Spaniards, Germans, English and other nationalities which are numerous in Mexico remained quietly in the country and suffered only the hardship incidental to a country in revolution. It is regrettable that only the Americans left, and in many cases sacrificed their business interests, because they heard a voice from the United States which said that Mexico was unsafe. President Taft's message, which contained nothing which was not substantially correct, was misunderstood by many Americans who attempted to read between the lines and became alarmed.

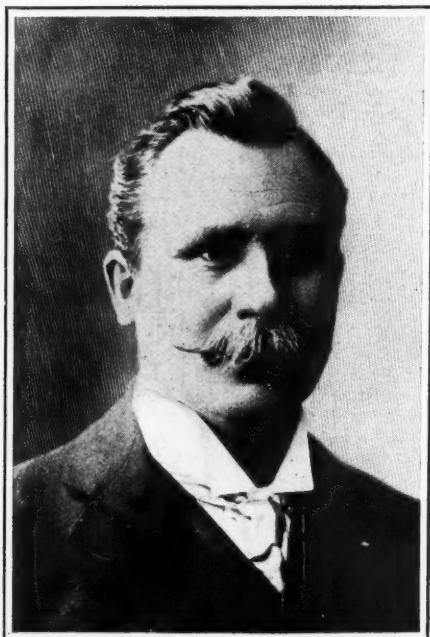
General Leonard Wood, Chief of Staff, in a recent interview in Washington, gave these discouraging words to the sensation mongers:

No additional troops have been ordered to the border, no munitions of war are being feverishly collected, because with the exception of "one man's toe shot off" all is quiet on the Rio Grande.

The reference is to the soldier on leave who, while lying on the river bank, was wounded by a shot from the Mexican side. "We do not consciously intend to go to war for one toe," says General Wood.

Failure of the Loan Treaties

Reviewing his recent tour through Caribbean America, Secretary Knox declared, last month, that the friendly efforts of the United States to aid the republics he visited are always opposed by two hostile forces. One is the misrepresentation of our attitude and purposes in the countries themselves and the other the influence of certain small coteries of interested persons in the United States who selfishly oppose reforms that would put an end to political abuses in the republics. Mr. Knox has always defended the so-called "Dollar Diplomacy" of our State Department, which, it is claimed by its advocates, has been the instrument of completely regenerating certain backward countries through the reorganization of their finances and the stimulation of their trade. With this in view, the Secretary has been untiring in his efforts to bring about the adoption of the long-pending loan treaties with Nicaragua and Honduras. Both these conventions aimed to effect the financial rehabilitation of these republics. Honduras and Nicaragua are involved in a European-owned debt far beyond their ability to pay. The loan conventions proposed to give the sanction of the United States to loan contracts whereby American bankers were to liquidate the European indebtedness of Nicaragua and Honduras and supply each government with funds enabling it to make a fresh start. Opposition, however, developed to the guarantee feature and after extended



Photograph by the Trans-Atlantic Co., New York

TOM MANN, THE MILITANT BRITISH LABOR LEADER,
WHO HAS BEEN SENTENCED TO SIX MONTHS'
IMPRISONMENT FOR "INCITING SOLDIERS
TO MUTINY"

debate in the Senate Committee, the conventions failed, the vote being a tie.

The Bust of France on Lake Champlain Both France and Germany paid graceful compliments to the American people last month. On May 3 a French delegation presented to the joint New York and Vermont Tercentenary Commission a bronze bust typifying France (the work of the sculptor Rodin), which is to grace the base of the memorial lighthouse erected at Crown Point in the honor of Champlain, the French explorer. In making the presentation, M. Gabriel Hanotaux, statesman and member of the French Academy, declared that the bust would bear continual testimony to the quality of French taste.

It will depict to you France such as we Frenchmen conceive it, such as we love it. See this countenance, smiling and at the same time grave, these delicate and pure features, these full cheeks indicating health, this firm look expressing resolution and sincerity. It is France as she wishes to be and as she is.

A very happy description of the France that Frenchmen and lovers of France see in history. The official message from France was brought by M. Jules Jusserand, the Ambas-

sador, who felicitously referred to Franco-American relations. M. Jusserand, who prides himself on being the personal friend of the American people, is fond of pointing out the fact that although we once did have a little tiff with France, the French Republic is the only European nation with which we ever had an alliance. France and America, the two most powerful and populous republics in the world, should be friends because they have so many problems in common. "Like ocean vessels, they should always be ready to heed the call for assistance or advice. They are engaged in the greatest experiment in government the world has ever seen, the most difficult because the people who govern themselves, while most happy, are faced with the greatest of difficulties in working out governmental forms." Late in May a division of the German fleet, consisting of three cruisers, set sail from Kiel, to return the visit, made last June, by the United States Atlantic fleet to Germany.

The Tom Mann Sentence

A development in the labor situation in England, which may have very far-reaching results, was the arrest, last month, of Tom Mann, the most militant of the English labor leaders, and his sentence to serve six months in jail for "inciting troops to mutiny." Mann's offense was addressing the regular troops called for duty in the recent coal strike, and urging them to refuse to shoot strikers and their sympathizers. Mann conducted his own defense in a masterly manner. He admitted his guilt, but claimed justification because of the conditions existing at the time of the strike. He had never intended, he stated, to incite soldiers to disobey lawful commands, but, he contended,

The commands of the officers to the soldiers must be lawful, and an order to shoot, and shoot to kill, brother Englishmen, would be a violation of the rights guaranteed to all citizens. I ask no mercy from this Court, but I claim the rights any man or citizen working for reforms should be granted. All I have tried to do in my work has been to benefit the working class and to reform crying evils.

He denounced the action of the government in lending the aid of the troops to "break the strike." In appealing to the soldiers not to fire, he called attention to the fact that in many cases they would be shooting their own relatives. While the sentence is regarded as technically legal, there seems to be a general concurrence among British journals that the

law ought to be revised so as to "meet modern conditions of education, government and constitutional liberty."

Von Bieberstein Goes to London.

The recall of Count Wolff-Metternich, for several years German Ambassador at London, and the appointment of Baron Marschall von Bieberstein to that post, is an indication that a radical change has been determined upon in the conduct of British-German relations, at least from the German standpoint. Baron von Bieberstein has a reputation higher than that of any other living German diplomat. Since 1897 he has been at Constantinople, and it has been due to his alert, courageous, and intelligent diplomacy that Germany's influence at the Turkish capital is now so great. He has been spoken of as the successor of Dr. von Bethmann-Hollweg in the imperial chancellorship. The London mission, however, is regarded at the present moment as of even more importance than the post of Chancellor, and it demands the best man that Germany can supply. The Kaiser is known to have been disappointed with the way Count Wolff-Metternich conducted the "conversations" with the British Foreign Secretary during the Moroccan episode last summer. Baron von Bieberstein has, among his pet hobbies, the ambition to replace French influence by German, as he did the British at Constantinople. The near future in Anglo-German diplomatic relations should be more than usually interesting and significant.

The Revolt at Fez

The absorption of North Africa by France and Italy goes on slowly and with many apparently serious interruptions, but none the less surely. No sooner did the negotiations between France and Spain seem to be on the fair road to settlement than trouble broke out in Morocco in the form of a mutiny amongst the Moorish troops. Last month, without any warning,—which looks like complicity on the part of the Sultan Mulai Hafid—the troops in Fez mutinied, killed their officers, and then rushed through the town slaughtering every foreigner they could find. Many deeds of heroism are recorded, but, taken by surprise, the French residents could make no real resistance. Punishment was sharp and severe, since adequate French forces were in the neighborhood. The mutiny has, however, spread a feeling of unrest throughout the country and even into the Spanish sphere of influence. The French Government has appointed a strong military Resident General



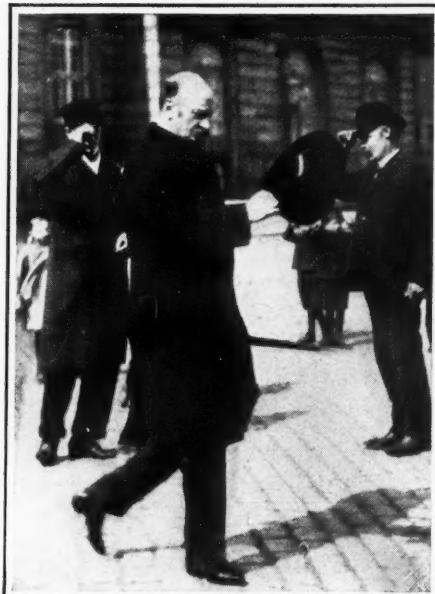
BARON MARSCHALL VON BIEBERSTEIN, GERMANY'S NEW AMBASSADOR TO ENGLAND

(Baron von Bieberstein is regarded as Germany's ablest diplomat. He was for ten years in Constantinople and scored many triumphs there for his country)

in the person of General Lyautey and order has been restored. A prominent French military authority, however, is quoted as expressing the belief that twelve years will be required to subdue Morocco.

A New Phase in the Turkish War

Last month the Italian Government determined upon a new phase of the war. Its fleet seized a number of islands in the Eastern Mediterranean, including, after some fighting, the classic Rhodes. These islands afford excellent bases for operations against European Turkey, being no great distance from the Dardanelles. Following on this incursion into European waters an Italian fleet shelled the entrance to the Dardanelles on the opening day (April 18) of the newly elected Turkish Parliament. Little damage seems to have been done, as is generally the case in these encounters between warships and forts. The Italians sent 342 projectiles of heavy caliber against the Turkish batteries, at a distance of 10,000 meters, with very little damage. On some of these projectiles, collected after the bombardment, were inscribed "1910, Tripoli," showing that preparations for the Tripolitan venture had been



Photograph by Underwood & Underwood, New York

FREDERICK VIII, LATE KING OF DENMARK, WALKING
IN THE STREETS OF COPENHAGEN

going on the year before. But the attack forced the Turks to mine and block the Dardanelles. This was possibly the aim of the Italian Government. Italy seems to have believed that so serious an inconvenience to international, and especially to British and Russian trade, would force the great powers to put pressure on the Turkish Government to bring hostilities to an end. But the Italian plan failed. No concerted action was taken against Turkey, nor does it seem likely that there will be any such action.

Why the War Does Not Stop Although all Europe—including Italy and Turkey—desires the war to stop, there seems no way out of the *impasse*, but rather every danger of increasing complications. The reasons why neither combatant can stop just now are simple, but not generally understood. As for Italy, quite apart from her desire to prevent any other power occupying Tripoli, the results of the war at home have so far surpassed expectations that it is worth considerable expenditure to complete the internal welding of the Italian people. Before the war there was an ever growing Socialist opposition to the government. Now there is none. All are ardently and cohesively patriotic. Baron San Giusto, one of the party of Italian engineers who attended the

International Congress of Navigation held at Philadelphia, last month, has stated in public that "all parties in Italy, without exception, the Clericals, the Liberals, the Constitutionalists and the Socialists, are one in respect to the war, and there is no North or South. Ferri, one of the chiefs of the Socialists, has agreed with the other leaders that this is no question of party." The war has even brought the Quirinal and the Vatican much nearer together. These achievements the Italian Government regards as benefits which it naturally does not wish to relinquish.

As to the Annexation of Tripoli The great stumbling-block is undoubtedly the premature annexation proclamation. Undoubtedly it was forced on the government by internal requirements, but it seems to have been a mistake. It infuriated Moslem sentiment of every shade. It would probably have been much better to prefer the substance to the form, and to have settled down to some such tenure (more or less illogical, but perfectly practical) as Great Britain has in Egypt. But it is characteristic of a Latin race—as Taine puts it—that it always wants to occupy a "sharply defined and termino-

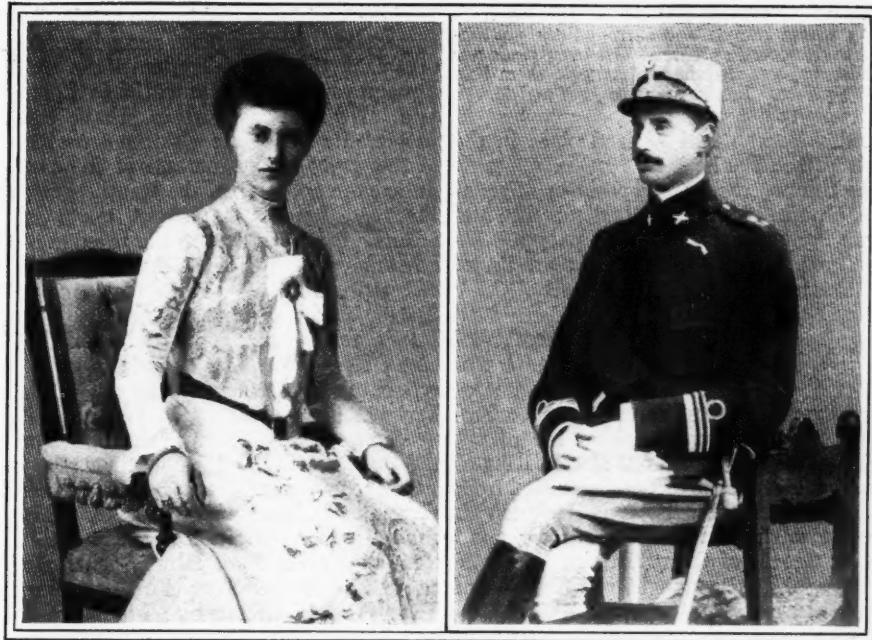


ANYTHING TO ATTRACT ATTENTION

EUROPA (to Italy, who has temporarily discarded the barrel-organ in favor of the bombardon): "If you go on like that, young man, you'll get yourself disliked."

ITALY: "Well, that's better than not being noticed at all."

From *Punch* (London)



Photographs by the American Press Association, New York

THE NEW KING AND QUEEN OF DENMARK

(Queen Alexandrine, who was formerly Princess of Mecklenburg)

(Christian Charles Frederick Albert Alexander, who will reign as Christian X)

logically defensible position." The annexation proclamation was an error in political tactics. The Arabs and Turks, who might have been kept apart, are united, and the proper method for Italy remains one of patience. Turkey cannot accept any solution which touches the prestige of the Caliphate, especially as regards the Arabs, since to do so would be to jeopardize the whole structure of new Turkey. And so the end seems as yet far off.

*Death of
Frederick
of Denmark*

The Danes are among the most democratic peoples of Europe. So orderly and methodical, moreover, are the operations of constitutional government in the little peninsular kingdom on Germany's northern front that the death of King Frederick VIII, last month, and the accession of his son, who will reign as Christian X, occasioned no more governmental or popular agitation or excitement than the change of presidents in a republic—considerably less it may be truthfully said than a presidential campaign in the United States. Six years ago King Frederick succeeded his father, who had reigned almost half a century and who was known as the "father-in-law of Europe," from the fact that the Danish royal family, for a generation, has been related

closely to almost all the courts of Europe. In a sketch of King Christian IX, which appeared in this magazine for March, 1906, Mr. Edwin Björkman wrote of his successor, the monarch who passed away on May 14 in Hamburg while returning with his queen from a trip to Nice:

Of the new King, the chief things that can be said are that his tact and his warm interest in his people are universally known. Together with his more modern views on the relationship between monarch and nation they will undoubtedly serve to make him an efficient leader of his people on the path to ever-increasing prosperity and self-realization in art and literature, as well as in public-spirited citizenship.

This prediction has been verified to the letter. The late King was noted for his culture. He was at one time Chancellor of the University of Copenhagen, and at the time of his accession Grand Master of the Danish Free Masons. He was well known as a promoter of all sorts of philanthropic objects. He was also much interested in the army, into which he introduced many reforms. He was a model constitutional monarch. The recent Premier of one of Denmark's radical cabinets said of him:

He never interferes. He understands the cravings of the new times. His treatment of the

Socialists is everything that can be expected from a king whose friends and surroundings are opposed to democratic progress. He even reads our Socialist papers. He has to smuggle them into his own palace. But he enjoys a good article.

Frederick, who had a fixed place in the hearts of the Danish people when he came to the throne, was a fine specimen of manhood, physically, mentally and morally, and universally popular among his people. He was more progressive than his father. Under him, Denmark has prospered greatly.

The New King. King Frederick was a brother of the Queen Mother Alexandra of England, of King George of Greece, and of the widowed Dowager Empress of Russia. It was his second son, Karl, who, in November, 1905, was elected King of Norway after that kingdom's separation from Sweden, and who now reigns as Haakon VII. He was also uncle of the Czar of Russia and of King George of Great Britain. His wife was Princess Louise, daughter of Karl XV of Sweden and Norway. The new King, Christian, who was proclaimed on May 15, is in his forty-second year. He is known as the tallest Prince in Europe. He is an amiable, domestic man, very fond of sport and athletics. He has a knowledge of statecraft and a popularity among the people almost as deep-seated as that of his father's. His wife was Princess Alexandrine, of Mecklenburg. Another eminent Scandinavian passed away on the same day as King Frederick. August Strindberg, the Swedish playwright, novelist and leader of Scandinavian thought, died in Stockholm after a lingering illness. In these pages for February we commented editorially upon the celebrations throughout the world of Strindberg's sixty-third birthday. He was more than the foremost living writer of the Scandinavian north; he was a potent force in the social and intellectual progress of his time. A summary of the main facts of Strindberg's life appeared in our Leading Article Department in April.

Yuan Shih-kai's First Message In his first presidential message, delivered orally at the opening of the Advisory Council (which is virtually a provisional senate) at Peking, on April 29, Yuan Shih-kai proclaimed the desire of the new China to "understand and treat

foreigners with friendship and candor." He emphasized further the necessity for reorganizing the financial system of the country. Foreign capital is still essential to China, he said. Negotiations, further, "have been in progress for some time with the great Powers of the world for an increase of the customs duties, the abolition of the transit taxes, and the reduction of the export taxes, which means a great increase in the revenue of the government." For more than a year financial representatives of six powers (United States, Great Britain, Germany, France, Russia and Japan), supported by their Foreign Offices, have been negotiating with the republican government for a loan. It is believed that at least \$300,000,000 will be needed to defray the current obligations of the government, and those that will very soon become due. The powers above mentioned have been demanding the right to supervise the application of the loan and the right to appoint from their national officials to advise in such application. Premier Tang Shao-Yi declined to submit to these conditions, which, he said, "would mean degrading servitude."

*Making
Haste
Slowly*

Meanwhile, despite the peaceful proclamation of the republic and the gratifying progress made by Yuan Shih-kai in carrying out the reform program, China is still in what Dr. Dillon, writing in the *Contemporary Review*, calls "a seething whirlpool of currents running in all directions." There is much disorder among the troops who have been long unpaid. Count Okuma, the venerable Japanese "Elder Statesman," in an article appearing in a German magazine (the *Friedens-Warte*), is very pessimistic as to the immediate future in China. Her greatest danger, he thinks, lies in the attitude of foreign powers. With the spirit already shown by the Republican leaders, however, almost any reform can be worked out if the rest of the world will do nothing more than abstain from interference. Yuan Shih-kai's presidential message, already referred to, made an excellent impression on the representatives of the foreign governments at the Chinese capital, most of whom are agreed that the new régime realizes the dangers of trying to modernize the country too rapidly.

RECORD OF CURRENT EVENTS

(From April 17 to May 16, 1912)

PROCEEDINGS IN CONGRESS

April 17.—The Senate orders an investigation into the causes which led to the wreck of the *Titanic*.

April 18.—The Senate discusses the bill regulating immigration. . . . The House considers the Post Office appropriation bill.

April 19.—The Senate passes the Dillingham Immigration bill, making ability to read and write a condition of entrance into this country. . . . The House adjourns in respect to those who lost their lives on the *Titanic*.

April 20.—The Senate urges the negotiation of treaties with the maritime powers to secure the safety of persons on the sea. . . . The House passes a measure requiring publicity of contributions and expenditures in the interest of candidates for President and Vice-President.

April 22.—The Senate passes the bill granting an appeal to the independent tobacco companies from the decree of the Circuit Court approving the dissolution of the Tobacco Trust.

April 25.—The House broadens the powers of the Committee on Banking and Currency for the purpose of the investigation into the alleged Money Trust.

April 29.—In the Senate, an inquiry is ordered into the campaign contributions and disbursements of 1904 and 1908.

April 30.—The House authorizes the appointment of a joint committee to report a general parcel-post bill at the next session.

May 2.—The House passes the Post Office appropriation bill (\$260,000,000), including authorization for the establishment of an experimental rural parcel post.

May 6.—The Senate passes the Employers' Liability and Workmen's Compensation bill.

May 7.—The Senate agrees to the conference report on the substitute Pension bill, which will add more than \$25,000,000 annually to the pension roll; a measure is passed which is designed to carry into effect the provisions of the international wireless treaty recently signed at Berlin.

May 9.—The Senate passes the River and Harbor appropriation bill with amendments (\$34,000,000).

May 10.—The House passes the Legislative, Executive, and Judicial appropriation bill, abolishing the Commerce Court and making many vital changes in the departments; the conference report on the substitute Pension bill is agreed to.

May 13.—The House accepts the Senate's amendments to the measure providing for the direct election of United States Senators.

May 14.—The House, by vote of 244 to 31, passes the Clayton bill prohibiting the issuing of injunctions without notice.

May 16.—The Senate passes the Agricultural appropriation bill, adding \$2,000,000 to the House estimates. . . . The House debates the Panama Canal bill, opposition developing against preferential treatment of American-owned ships.



Photograph by Underwood & Underwood, New York

SPECIAL MASTER AND COUNSEL IN THE GOVERNMENT'S SUIT TO DISSOLVE THE UNITED STATES STEEL CORPORATION

(From left to right are: B. A. Reed, Henry B. Colton, assistant counsel for the Government; Henry P. Brown, Special Master appointed by the U. S. Circuit Court to take testimony; Jacob M. Dickinson, ex-Secretary of War, who appears for the Government, and R. V. Lindabury, chief counsel for the Steel Corporation. This photograph was taken on the steps of the New York Custom House after the session held on Tuesday morning, May 7.)

POLITICS AND GOVERNMENT—AMERICAN

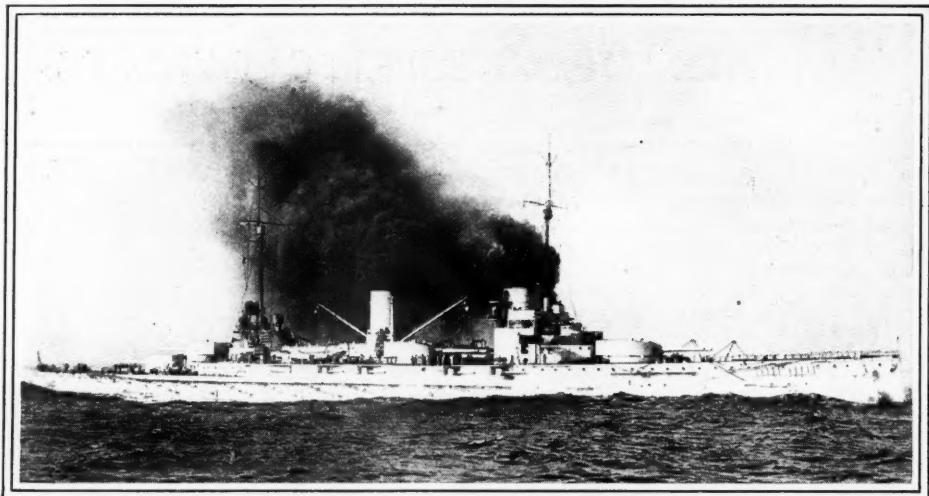
April 17.—The Connecticut Republican State Convention instructs four delegates-at-large for Mr. Taft. . . . The Alabama delegates to the Democratic National Convention are instructed for Mr. Underwood. . . . The President appoints Julia Lathrop as chief of the new Children's Bureau.

April 19.—In the Nebraska primaries, Mr. Roosevelt receives the Republican preference for President by 35,545, to approximately 11,800 each for President Taft and Senator La Follette; Champ Clark wins the Democratic contest; Governor Aldrich (Rep.) is renominated; United States Senator Norris Brown (Rep.) is defeated for renomination by Congressman Norris. . . . In the Oregon primaries, Colonel Roosevelt receives 25,400 votes, Senator La Follette 20,200, and President Taft 18,220; Woodrow Wilson receives the Democratic endorsement; Jonathan Bourne loses his seat in the United States Senate, Ben Selling winning the Republican nomination and Harry Lane the Democratic. . . . A Congressional inquiry into the causes leading to the wreck of the *Titanic* is begun by Senators Smith and Newlands at New York.

April 23.—In the New Hampshire Presidential primary, delegates pledged to President Taft are elected in two-thirds of the districts.

April 24.—Ten delegates to the national convention are selected by the Rhode Island Republican convention and instructed for Mr. Taft. . . . The four Iowa delegates-at-large are instructed for President Taft by the State convention.

April 25.—The Missouri State convention is controlled by the Roosevelt forces, and the eight national delegates-at-large are instructed to vote for Colonel Roosevelt.



Photograph by The American Press Association, New York

THE GERMAN CRUISER "MOLTKE," NOW ON A VISIT TO THE UNITED STATES

April 27.—The Congressional inquiry into the "money trust" is begun by the House Committee on Banking and Currency.

April 29.—By direction of President Taft, suit is brought against the International Harvester Company in the District Court of Minnesota.

April 30.—President Taft wins the Massachusetts Presidential preference primary by 3500 votes more than Colonel Roosevelt receives. . . . The Florida Democratic Presidential primary is carried by Congressman Underwood.

May 1.—Colonel Roosevelt, because President Taft won the Presidential preference primary in Massachusetts, requests the eight delegates-at-large, instructed for him, to vote for Mr. Taft. . . . Congressman Underwood carries the Georgia Presidential primary, defeating Woodrow Wilson by more than 8000 votes. . . . The Pennsylvania State Convention, controlled by the Roosevelt leaders, adopts a progressive platform and instructs twelve national delegates-at-large for Colonel Roosevelt.

May 2.—The conferees of the Senate and House agree on a general Pension bill adding \$25,000,000 annually to the pension budget.

May 4.—The Roosevelt forces win a majority of the precinct conventions held throughout Texas.

May 6.—Colonel Roosevelt carries the Maryland Presidential preference primary by 29,124 to 26,000 for President Taft; Speaker Clark is the Democratic choice. . . . The Nevada Republican State Convention instructs its six delegates to the national convention to vote for Mr. Taft.

May 8.—The Kansas Republican State Convention instructs the four delegates-at-large for Mr. Roosevelt. . . . It is testified before the House Committee investigating the charges against Judge Archbald that he was a party to a transaction with the Erie Railroad while a case involving that road was pending before him.

May 13.—The Wyoming Republican convention instructs its six national delegates for Mr. Taft.

. . . The Senate Committee on Judiciary agrees to report favorably a resolution limiting the Presidential term to one period of six years.

May 14.—The California Presidential primaries are carried by Colonel Roosevelt by 60,000 majority over President Taft; Champ Clark defeats Woodrow Wilson in the Democratic contest.

May 16.—The Minnesota Republican convention instructs the State's twenty-four delegates to vote for Theodore Roosevelt in the national convention. . . . The West Virginia and Washington Republican conventions name Roosevelt delegates-at-large. . . . The South Carolina Democratic convention endorses Woodrow Wilson for President. . . . The Maryland Democratic convention endorses Champ Clark. . . . The twenty-six Iowa delegates to the Democratic National Convention are instructed for Champ Clark.

POLITICS AND GOVERNMENT—FOREIGN

April 17.—Culiacan, the capital of Sinaloa, and Sierra Mojada, in Coahuila province, are captured by the Mexican revolutionists.

April 20.—It is reported from Calcutta that 3000 Tibetans were killed at Lhasa by Chinese troops.

April 21.—A new Hungarian ministry is formed, with George Lukacs as Premier.

April 23.—The Irish National Convention, at Dublin, unanimously endorses the British Government's Home Rule bill. . . . The Mexican Congress passes a bill increasing the army to 60,000 men.

April 25.—The British House of Commons passes the Welsh disestablishment bill on its first reading. . . . The German Government's proposals to increase the army and navy are defeated in the Reichstag by a combination of Radicals, Socialists, and National Liberals.

April 27.—Civil war is renewed in Paraguay.

April 29.—Yuan Shih-kai delivers his first Presidential message at the opening of the Chinese Advisory Council.

April 30.—The Venezuelan cabinet resigns after less than a year's existence. . . . The second reading of the Home Rule bill is moved by Winston Churchill in the House of Commons.

May 2.—The British commission under Lord Mersey begins its investigation of the causes leading to the wreck of the *Titanic*.

May 4.—Emilio Vasquez Gomez leaves United States soil for Juarez, Mexico, where he is proclaimed provisional president; he appoints Orozco, the insurgent leader, his minister of war.

May 6.—Premier Asquith and Sir Edward Grey, in the House of Commons, defend Ambassador Bryce from attacks made in connection with the reciprocity question between the United States and Canada.

May 9.—The Home Rule bill passes its second reading in the British House of Commons.

May 10.—The German Reichstag passes on its second reading the bill increasing the army by 40,000 men.

May 13.—The Paraguayan government forces defeat the revolutionists near Asuncion and take 500 prisoners. . . . The first trial by jury ever held in China is begun at Shanghai.

May 14.—The German Reichstag passes the navy-increase bill on its second reading.

May 15.—Christian X. is proclaimed King of Denmark on the death of his father, Frederick VIII.

May 16.—The Welsh Disestablishment bill passes its second reading in the House of Commons. . . . The Montreal elections result in a majority of about 45 for the Gouin government.

INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS

April 17.—Mexico's reply to the United States Government's note of warning is a refusal to recognize that government's right to interfere in Mexican affairs. . . . It is announced at Peking that six outlaws who murdered Bert Hicks, of Oshkosh, Wis., have been executed.

April 18.—A fleet of Italian warships bombard two Turkish forts at the entrance to the Dardanelles.

April 18-19.—A mutiny among Moorish soldiers in Fez, before it is put down by the French troops, results in the slaughter of more than fifty French soldiers and nearly a hundred Jews.

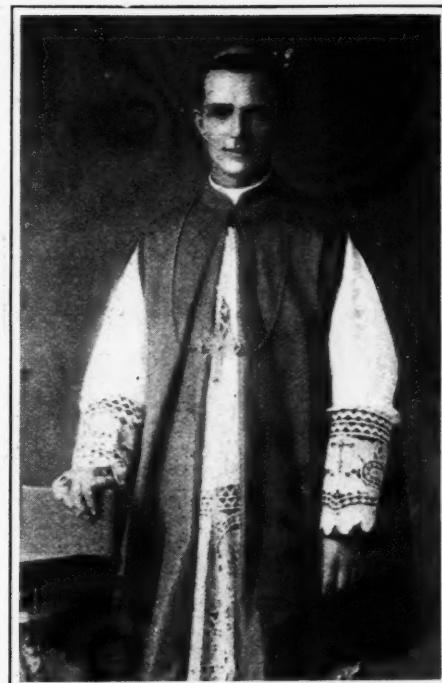
April 19.—Russia agrees to recognize Italian sovereignty in Tripoli in return for support to Russia's Balkan policies.

April 20.—The American consul at Chihuahua, Mexico, reports that two Americans have been detained there by the revolutionists for more than a month.

April 23.—It is reported at Constantinople that Turkey has accepted the offer of mediation by the powers, in the hostilities with Italy, conditional on the maintenance of the sovereignty of Turkey in Tripoli, with economic concessions to Italy; the Turkish island of Stampalia, near the entrance to the Dardanelles, is seized by Italy.

April 25.—The British Government recognizes the right of the United States to inquire into the loss of a foreign vessel if Americans have lost their lives.

April 26.—The United States transport *Bu福德* is ordered to Mexican Pacific ports to protect American citizens. . . . A treaty of friendship,



ARCHBISHOP BONZANO, PAPAL DELEGATE TO THE
UNITED STATES

commerce, and navigation is signed between Cuba and Peru.

April 27.—Following the joint protest of the United States, Great Britain, France, and Germany, China cancels the contract for a loan of \$50,000,000 from a Belgian syndicate.

May 1.—The Turkish Council of Ministers decides to reopen the Dardanelles.

May 4.—Italian troops land on the island of Rhodes and capture it with but little resistance from the Turks. . . . P. May is appointed Belgian minister to the United States.

May 9.—Count Wolff-Metternich resigns as German ambassador to Great Britain.

May 14.—The Chinese Legislative Council rejects the loan agreement proposed by the six powers, declining to agree to foreign supervision of expenditures. . . . More than one hundred American refugees board the United States transport *Bu福德* at points on the Pacific coast of Mexico.

May 16.—The conference at London regarding the international loan to China is suspended owing to Russia's insistence on special safeguards for her own interests. . . . An Italian destroyer seizes the Turkish island of Lipso, near Smyrna.

OTHER OCCURRENCES OF THE MONTH

April 17.—Secretary Knox returns to Washington from his tour among the Caribbean republics. . . . Mayor Gaynor of New York starts a relief fund for sufferers from the sinking of the *Titanic*.

April 18.—The steamer *Carpathia* arrives at New York with 495 of the passengers and 210 of the crew of the wrecked steamer *Titanic*. . . . More



THE SOUTH CAROLINA MONUMENT TO THE WOMEN OF THE CONFEDERACY, UNVEILED AT COLUMBIA ON APRIL 11

than one hundred Siberian coal miners are killed in a clash with Russian soldiers.

April 19.—A memorial service for those who lost their lives on the *Titanic* is held in St. Paul's Cathedral.

April 20.—It is announced that hereafter steamers of the International Mercantile Marine will carry lifeboats and rafts sufficient for all passengers and crew. . . . The mill strike at Lowell, Mass., ends in a partial victory for the employees.

April 20-21.—Cyclones in Illinois, Indiana, Alabama, and Georgia cause the death of nearly one hundred persons.

April 21.—Memorial services for the *Titanic* dead are held in many churches throughout the British Empire and the United States.

April 22.—The locomotive engineers of the Eastern railroads accept the offer of mediation of their demands, made by Commissioner of Labor Neill and Judge Knapp of the Commerce Court.

April 23.—The railroads accept the offer of mediation made by Commissioner Neill and Judge Knapp.

April 24.—The steamer *Olympic* is unable to sail from Southampton because of the objection of firemen and oilers to its life-boat equipment. . . . Many persons are killed in a conflict between textile strikers and Portuguese troops near Oporto.

April 26.—Wheat prices in Chicago advance to a new high level for the year.

April 28.—The bazaar section of Damascus, Syria, is destroyed by fire, the damage amounting to \$10,000,000.

April 29.—A proposal to construct a French trans-African railroad from Tangier to Juba, on the Indian Ocean, is made public in Paris.

April 30.—The cable ship *Mackay-Bennett* brings into Halifax 190 bodies picked up from the sea near the place where the *Titanic* foundered.

May 2.—The Italian battleship *Re Umberto* runs on the rocks off Tripoli and sinks. . . . A Turkish tugboat is blown to pieces by a mine in the Dardanelles.

May 3.—Fifty-nine unidentified bodies of *Titanic* victims recovered by the *Mackay-Bennett* are buried at Halifax.

May 4.—More than 15,000 persons participate in a woman-suffrage parade in New York City.

May 6.—The will of John Jacob Astor, made public at New York, leaves the bulk of his estate of more than \$100,000,000 to his twenty-year-old son, William Vincent Astor. . . . The cable ship *Minia* arrives at Halifax with the bodies of fifteen *Titanic* victims.

May 7.—The ninth International Red Cross Conference is opened at Washington, representatives of thirty-two countries being present. . . . The New Hampshire Supreme Court upholds the bequest of \$2,000,000 made by Mrs. Eddy to the Christian Science Church in Boston.

May 11.—Dr. John Grier Hibben is formally installed as president of Princeton University (see frontispiece).

May 14.—A convention of anthracite miners meets at Wilkes-Barre to consider the tentative agreement reached between their representatives and the operators.

OBITUARY

April 17.—William Francis Harrity, formerly postmaster of Philadelphia and a prominent Democrat, 62. . . . Dr. Paul Freer, dean of the College of Medicine in the University of the Philippines.

April 18.—George F. Huff, a prominent Pennsylvania capitalist and former Representative, 69. . . . Col. Isaac F. Mack, for forty years editor of the Sandusky *Register* and a prominent member of the Grand Army of the Republic, 68.

April 20.—Robert Cameron Rogers, author of the poem "The Rosary," 50. . . . Lieut.-Col. Frank Bridgman, the oldest retired army officer in the United States, 91.

April 21.—Abraham ("Bram") Stoker, the English author and theatrical manager, 54. . . .

Dr. Yung Wing, of Hartford, a prominent Chinese diplomat and reformer, 84.

April 22.—Stilson Hutchins, formerly a prominent newspaper proprietor in St. Louis and Washington, 74. . . . Horace J. Stevens, compiler and publisher of the "Copper Handbook," 46.

April 24.—Justin McCarthy, the Irish historian and novelist, and former member of Parliament 82.

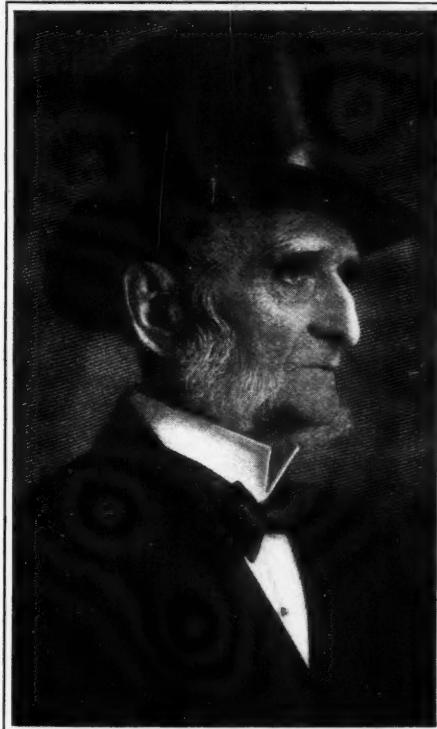
April 25.—Rev. Dr. George William Knox, professor of theology and history of religion at the Union Theological Seminary, 59. . . . Chester Holcombe, for many years secretary of the United States legation at Peking, 68.

April 27.—Dr. Daniel Kimball Pearsons, the philanthropist and friend of small colleges, 92. . . . Rear-Adm. Ebenezer Scudder Prime, U. S. N., retired, 65.

May 1.—Thomas C. Dawson, resident diplomatic officer of the State Department, and an authority on Latin American relations, 46. . . . James Rawle, president of the James G. Brill Car Company of Philadelphia, 70. . . . Beryl Faber, the English actress.

May 2.—Nathaniel N. Cox, a former member of Congress from Tennessee, 76. . . . Miss Mary Adams Currier, for many years professor of elocution at Wellesley College, 80. . . . Ignatz Oestricher, an expert in photographic chemistry 74.

May 3.—Emil L. Boas, American resident director of the Hamburg-American Steamship Com-



DR. D. K. PEARSONS

(The philanthropist and friend of small colleges, who died on April 27, at the age of ninety-two, having given away a fortune of \$5,000,000.)



EMIL BOAS, LATE RESIDENT DIRECTOR (AT NEW YORK) OF THE HAMBURG-AMERICAN STEAMSHIP COMPANY

pany, 58. . . . Capt. George A. Gordon, the well-known New England genealogist, 84.

May 4.—Rt. Rev. Charles William Stubbs, Bishop of Truro (England), 67. . . . Stephen B. Griswold, formerly librarian in the State Law Library at Albany, N. Y., 76.

May 6.—Capt. Bradley S. Osbon, well known in the naval service of the United States and many other countries, 85. . . . Miss Julia Harris May, prominent in teaching, writing, and club circles in Maine, 79. . . . J. P. Mabee, chairman of the Railways Commission of Canada.

May 10.—Rev. Dr. Willis J. Beecher, a prominent theologian, educator, and author, 74.

May 11.—D. Cady Eaton, professor emeritus of the Yale Art School, 75.

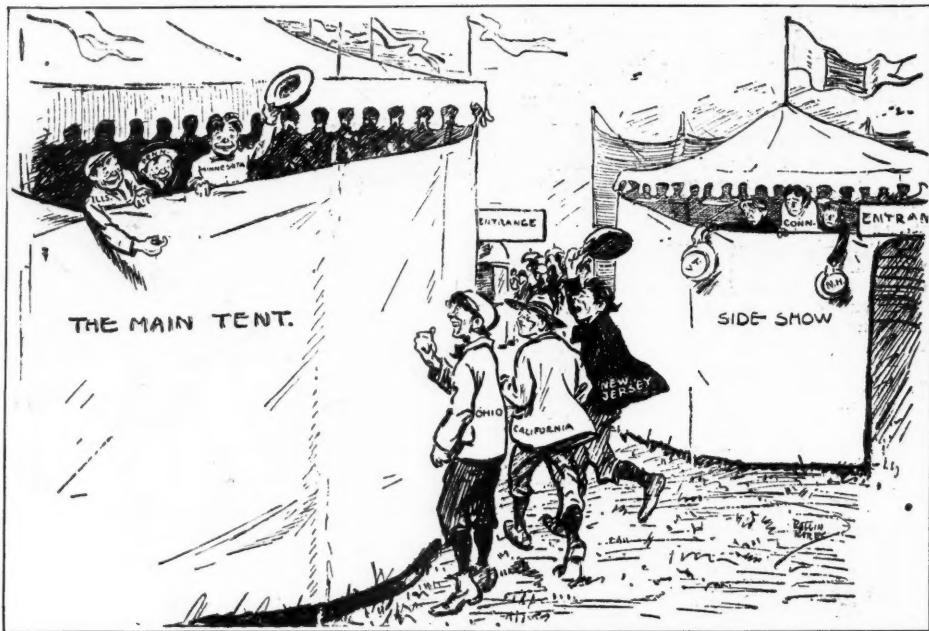
May 13.—Agnes Deans Cameron, the well-known author and lecturer, 49.

May 14.—Frederick VIII., King of Denmark, 68. . . . Auguste Strindberg, the noted Swedish novelist and dramatist, 63. . . . Brig.-Gen. Joseph W. Duncan, U. S. A., 59.

May 15.—Clifford S. Walton, an authority on commercial and maritime laws of the United States and Latin America, 51. . . . James Henry Haynie, formerly French correspondent of American newspapers, 71.

May 16.—Louis Henri Ayme, United States Consul-General at Lisbon, Portugal, 57.

POLITICAL AND OTHER CARTOONS



FOLLOWING THE BIG CROWD INTO THE ROOSEVELT TENT
From the *Evening Mail* (New York)

ON the Republican side of the great political circus, there has been considerable doubt as to which was the "main tent" and which the "side show." The crowd already in, or swarming into, the Colonel's tent (including Illinois, Pennsylvania, Minnesota, Maryland, California and other States) would seem to decide the issue.



TAFT: "SAY, THEODORE, YOU DON'T NEED AS MUCH COVERING AS I DO"
From the *Spokesman-Review* (Spokane)



"MARYLAND, MY MARYLAND"
From the *North American* (Philadelphia)



THE SOUTHERN BREAD-AND-BUTTER DELEGATES: "ON WHICH SIDE DOES OUR DUTY LIE?"

From the *Herald* (New York)

How the Southern delegates will finally line up at the Republican National Convention seems to be a matter of some uncertainty, which is true, of course, of a number of other delegations also, whether pledged or, as in the case of Massachusetts, "presented."



WON'T STAY PUT

(The eight Massachusetts delegates which Roosevelt turned over to Taft do not seem to like the idea of being given away) From the *Jersey Journal* (Jersey City)



AFRAID OF THE HUGHES DARK HORSE

THE LITTLE CANDIDATES: "M-mister, that's a s-s-strong cage, ain't it?"

From the *Journal* (Portland, Oregon)



THE FALLEN BOOM

Can all the postmasters and revenue men
Put Humpty-Dumpty together again?

From the *Post-Dispatch* (St. Louis)



Copyright, 1912, by the International News Service

UNCLE TRUSTY:

"William, I am reluctantly coming to the conclusion that you and Theodore are a couple of boneheads! Why can't you fish without disturbing the whole neighborhood? See how quiet Charlie is—he may get a bite any minute. Look at me—I'm landing suckers hand over fist! Why should the sylvan quiet of Ohio be busted by loud, discordant and raucous noises? Cut it out!"

From the *American* (New York)

MESSRS. TAFT AND ROOSEVELT EXHIBITING THEIR EQUIPMENT FOR THE PRESIDENCY

(A European view of the speaking campaign of the President and the ex-President) From *Der Musket* (Vienna)

Never before has there been such a campaign for the Presidential nomination as this one, with its strenuous speaking tours, its personalities and its "issues," including what Mr. Job Hedges, in the New York campaign of 1910, cleverly ridiculed as "this king business."



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THEODORE AND WILL, THREE YEARS AGO AND AT PRESENT

From the *Tribune* (Chicago)

Copyright by Harper and Brothers, New York

"ALL HAIL"
From *Harper's Weekly* (New York)



THAT "DAWG" OF CHAMP CLARK'S IS ABLE TO TAKE CARE OF HIMSELF NOW

From the *Evening Mail* (New York)

With the capture of various State primaries, himself but of the Speaker. The question Champ Clark's boom has gained greatly in whether Mr. Bryan will shy his hat into the strength. His "dawg," which was kicked ring in case of a deadlock at the Baltimore Con around to some extent in the earlier stages of vention is arousing interest. Nor are there the game, seems to have grown to be such lacking earnest supporters of the Nebraska a mastiff that he can take care not only of "Commoner" for the Democratic nomination.



WILL BRYAN THROW HIS HAT IN THE RING ALSO?

From the *Eagle* (Brooklyn, N. Y.)



THOSE TROUBLESOME TIMES IN THE AGRICULTURAL DEPARTMENT
From the *Globe and Commercial Advertiser* (New York)

The Agricultural Department has enjoyed precious little peace in the last few years, with Dr. Wiley, benzoate of soda, the Everglades land scandal, and now the nauseating meat inspection investigation.



ANYTHING FOR ME?
(Yes—but not much. Congress has just made a small appropriation for an experimental parcels post)
From the *Journal* (Minneapolis)



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GETTING EVEN WITH THE COP
From the *American* (New York)



TOLL OF THE SEA

(Dedicated to the memory of the brave men who went down in the *Titanic*, April 15th)

Tears for the dead, who shall not come again
Homeward to any shore on any tide!
Tears for the dead! but through that bitter rain
Breaks, like an April sun, the smile of pride.

What courage yielded place to others' need,
Patient of discipline's supreme decree,
Well may we guess who know that gallant breed
Schooled in the ancient chivalry of the sea!

O. S.
From *Punch* (London)



THE NEXT WORD IN SHIPBUILDING
From the *Gazette-Times* (Pittsburgh)



THE REVOLUTION GETTING
AFTER MADERO
From the *Plain Dealer* (Cleveland)



BREAKING UP ANOTHER BACKYARD GAME

Uncle Sam is going to put a stop to knocking fouls through the window.

From the *News-Tribune* (Duluth)

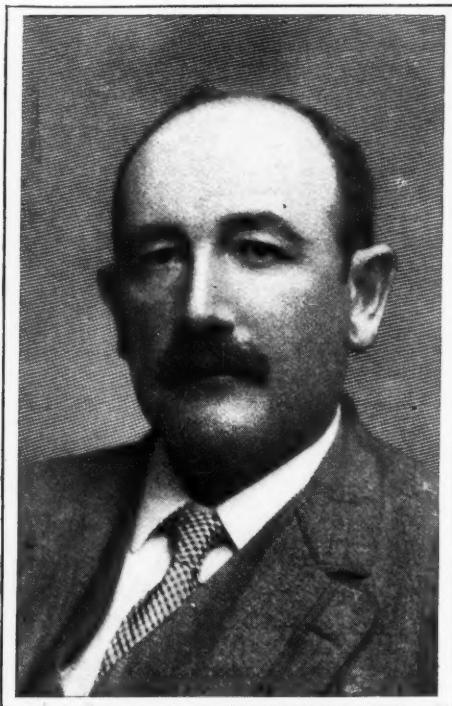


SECRETARY KNOX IN CUBA

(A Cuban view of the diplomatic methods employed by our State Department toward Central America)

From *La Politica Comica* (Havana)

HOMER DAVENPORT—CARTOONIST



Copyright by Pach Bros., New York

HOMER DAVENPORT

WITH the death of Homer Calvin Davenport last month, the work of one of America's foremost political cartoonists was brought to a sudden end. And powerful work it had been, especially in the field of politics and industrial reform. Few cartoonists had attained such great fame, or dealt stronger blows than Davenport. Although his work covered a wide range of subjects, it was his political cartoons for which he was best known. His original creations of the Trust figure—brutal and burly—and the dollar-marked suit of Senator Hanna, have been accepted as distinct additions to the symbolic stock-in-trade of his craft.

Davenport himself witnessed an illustration of the fame of some of his work. While waiting in Senator Hanna's ante-room for an interview one day, there came in an old colored preacher. As soon as the Senator showed himself, the preacher exclaimed: "Why, Marse Hanna, I knowed you right away. I would a-known you anywhere." "Why, how is that," said Mr. Hanna, "I've never met you." "Well, you see, Marse Hanna, I



DAVENPORT AND SOME OF HIS SUBJECTS—BY HIMSELF

(In the above group will be easily recognized caricatures of statesmen and politicians who were familiar figures in Davenport's political cartoons, among these being Speaker Reed, Ex-President Harrison, Representative Dingley and Senators Hanna, Platt, Quay, Aldrich and Spooner)

(From "Cartoons," by Homer C. Davenport)



"HE'S GOOD ENOUGH FOR ME"
(A popular cartoon in the Roosevelt Campaign of 1904)
From the *Evening Mail* (New York)

knowed you from your pictures in the papers —the ones Mr. Davenport draws.” Davenport was sitting close by, so the Senator couldn’t help but smile, although it is not on



MR. DAVENPORT'S IDEA OF A "TRUST"
From the *Journal* (New York)

record that he relished the portrait of himself which Davenport had made familiar to millions of Americans all over the country.

Davenport's "Uncle Sam" was one of the best produced by any cartoonist. He usually pictured him as a dignified and serious gentleman, shrewd of face and spare in form, clad, of course, in the traditional tricolor, but, emerging as a rule only in great crises, scenting trouble on the international horizon perhaps, and reaching out for his old flintlock, or bowed with grief over some tragic event of national interest.

While much of Davenport's work was not without humor, his strongest and most characteristic work were his serious cartoons, which partook of the nature of the stern religious reformer for whom he was named. A good deal of this quality undoubtedly came to him through being brought into early association with the work of Nast, whose powerful cartoons in *Harper's Weekly* penetrated the Oregon backwoods where Davenport was born. These cartoons made such an



MR. DAVENPORT MEETS SENATOR HANNA

impression in the Davenport home that the mother set her heart on having her son become a great cartoonist.

Davenport began to draw very early in life, but never took any lessons in the art. In fact he got little or no schooling of any kind. This lack of technical training was at times apparent in his work, but it did not to any extent mar the satirical power of his political work. The chief qualities of his cartoons were simplicity and force. If the drawing sometimes seemed crude, the idea was always apparent and the effect strong.

Although his first efforts in newspaper work were neither brilliant nor successful, Davenport's subsequent rise to fame was rapid.

Like many another American farm boy, his earliest ambitions led him in the direction of the sawdust ring; but his circus career was brief and inglorious. His first newspaper job was on the Portland *Oregonian*, from which



GLADSTONE AS CARICATURED BY DAVENPORT AT
HAWARDEN CASTLE

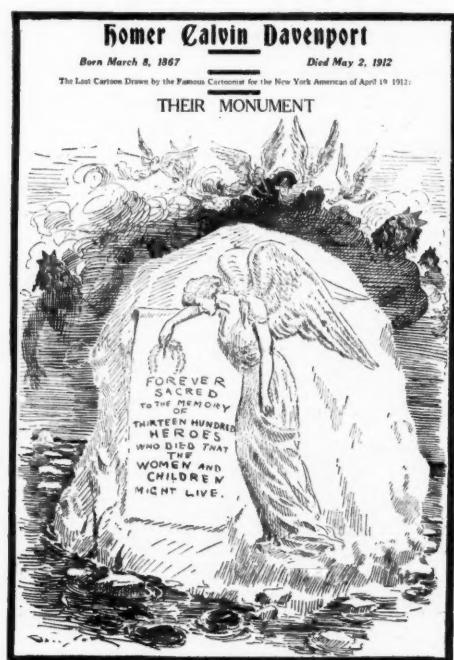
he separated suddenly—the story goes—because his drawing of a stove for an advertisement was far from satisfactory.

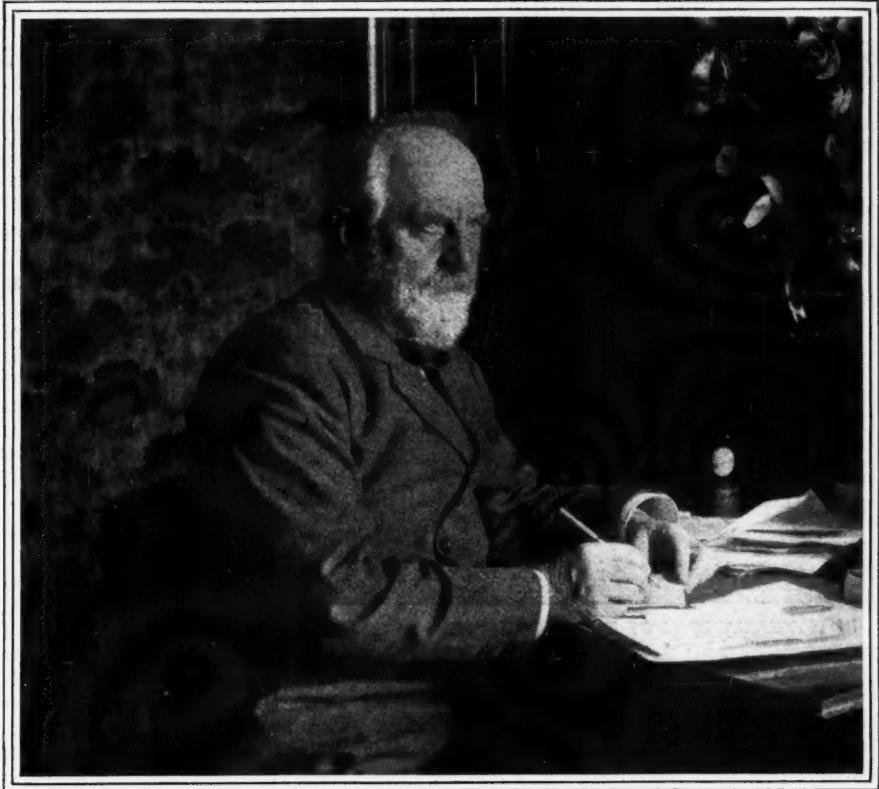
After drifting about somewhat, now on the San Francisco *Examiner*, then on the *Chronicle*, and doing other miscellaneous work, he was discovered by Mr. Hearst and brought to New York in 1895 to draw for the *Evening Journal* as one of the highest paid men in the profession. Here his powerful work attracted wide attention and he quickly achieved national fame. Mr. Davenport remained with the *Journal* during the silver-and-gold campaign of 1896, the Spanish War of 1898, and the second McKinley campaign of 1900. In all of these important periods he and his pencil were in the very forefront of the molders of public opinion. In the campaigns of 1904 and 1908 he was with the New York *Evening Mail*. It was in the Roosevelt campaign of 1904 that Davenport drew the famous "He's good enough for me" cartoon, of which millions of copies were circulated.

Davenport spent a good deal of time traveling in Europe, and on one of his trips he attended the Dreyfus trial, sketching the principal characters. He also visited England and caricatured some of the prominent statesmen there, including Gladstone, Sir

William Harcourt, Balfour, and others. Recently he had gone back to the Hearst forces, and was engaged on the New York *American*. His last cartoon, and the one which probably cost him his life, was on the *Titanic* disaster. He had gone down to the dock the night the *Carpathia* was due and there caught a cold, which turned into pneumonia and resulted in his death.

Born in the little town of Silverton, Oregon, in 1867, Davenport was forty-five years of age at the time of his death. Besides his cartoon work, he had also written several books, among which were "The Diary of a Country Boy," "The Bell of Silverton and Other Stories of Oregon," and "The Dollar or the Man." He occasionally lectured on the influence and work of the cartoonist. Davenport was very fond of country life and a great lover of animals. On his stock farm in New Jersey he raised fancy poultry and bred horses and other animals. In 1906, he visited Arabia and brought over, with the Sultan's especial permission, a string of twenty-seven Arabian horses, said to be the only genuine horses of this type in America. Had Mr. Davenport lived, he would undoubtedly have given us some brilliant work during the coming Presidential campaign. His death removed a potent force in American journalism, and a most picturesque and popular member of his craft.





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WILLIAM T. STEAD

BY ALBERT SHAW

WHEN the pages of this REVIEW were closed for the press last month it was practically certain that William T. Stead was not one of the rescued survivors of the *Titanic*. There was a bare chance that a few passengers had been picked up by sailing vessels of the fishing fleet off the banks of Newfoundland, but this faint hope was, after a few days, shown to be futile. Some days before the great ship sailed, Mr. Stead, in the course of a letter to the editor of this magazine, had written as follows:

The general feeling of unrest which is surging over the world just now is profoundly disquieting many minds, although it is raising high hopes in others. Mrs. Besant, with whom I am lunching to-day, is very confident that the signs of the times foreshadow the second coming of the Divine incarnation; while in the other camp there is a general conviction that the end of all things is near at hand. It is a mighty interesting time to live in, although somewhat trying to one's nerves. We have got

enough coal in our house to last another ten days, and then we are done. If things settle down into something like decent order here, I think I shall start for New York on the *Titanic*, which sails, if it can get coal enough, on April 10. It will be her first voyage, and the sea trip will do me good, and I shall have a chance of seeing you all for a few days. I should not remain more than a week in America.

The great coal strike, with its profound social and political bearings, had engaged Mr. Stead's time and attention. No one grasped its significance more fully, and no one wrote about it with more complete knowledge or clearer understanding of its meaning than did he. His sympathies were strongly with the solution that was reached by act of Parliament. His interpretation of the meaning of that solution will be found in five pages from his pen that came to us in time for use in the May number of the REVIEW, and which



IN THE EARLY DAYS OF THE LONDON "REVIEW OF REVIEWS"

we published under the title: "A World's Object Lesson from British Democracy." England had put into her laws and social institutions two new principles,—namely, the minimum living wage as a human right, and the settlement of industrial deadlocks by government action when the whole public welfare is involved.

It was characteristic of Mr. Stead that he should have gloried in a solution that to his mind meant much for the improvement of general conditions. For forty years as a journalist and reformer he had been working with pen and voice for the upbuilding of the British democracy. And he had toiled with a completeness of faith and a single-minded intensity of conviction that made him even more the prophet and the preacher of righteousness than the great journalist. Yet no man of his time had a better knowledge of the art and method of journalism, and in the use of the press as the organ of modern democratic opinion he was almost, if not quite, unequaled.

Mr. Stead had begun his journalistic career while still very young. His father was a Congregationalist minister in the north of England, and the family income was too small to give the promising son a university education. But his father was able to give him something far better, for he inspired his who helped him make the paper the most boy with great intellectual, moral, and social alert and the most interesting in England, ideals. A more eager mentality than that while also leading its contemporaries in

near Newcastle-on-Tyne, when he had scarcely more than entered upon his majority. This was in 1871, and his work at Darlington continued for nearly ten years. It was during this time that Mr. Gladstone aroused the conscience of England by his attacks upon Lord Beaconsfield's government for its complacent attitude toward Turkey

in the matter of the Bulgarian atrocities. Great leaders in church and state rallied about Mr. Gladstone, and no one wrote on behalf of the persecuted Bulgarian Christians more earnestly and brilliantly than W. T. Stead. His work brought him recognition, and he was regarded as a man with a future. His association with the leaders in this work that supported Russia in her campaign against Turkey, and that brought Mr. Gladstone back into power, led to his removal to London.

In 1880 Mr. John Morley, now Lord Morley, became editor of the *Pall Mall Gazette*, and Mr. Stead was invited to become his assistant editor. Mr. Morley, after two or three years, went into Parliament and gave up the editorship, Mr. Stead being appointed to succeed him. Whereupon great things happened in London journalism. Mr. Stead put amazing energy and fertility of resource into his editorial work, and surrounded himself with young men of talent and brilliancy who helped him make the paper the most interesting in England, in intellectual and literary qualities. It was in

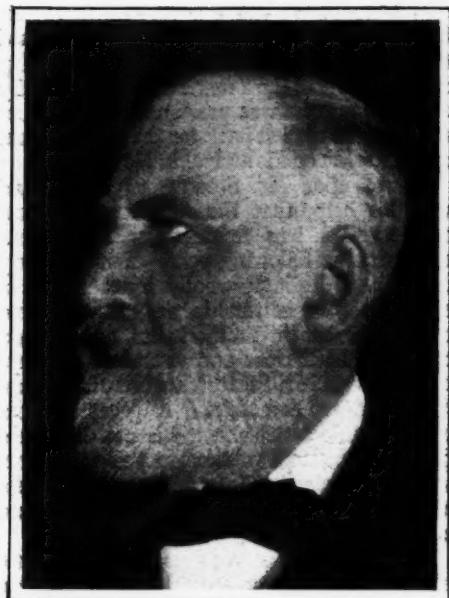
the whole realm. His reading was well directed and voluminous, his memory was prodigious, and a certain amount of schooling sufficed to give some discipline and direction to his further work of self-education.

As a means of self-support, while still in his teens he entered a business establishment, but constantly wrote for the local press. This writing was so original and strong that it led to his appointment as editor of a daily paper called the *Northern Echo*, published at Darlington,

those days that Mr. Stead's sensational but well-informed work achieved the reconstruction of the British navy. The *Pall Mall Gazette* led in every field of moral, social, and political progress. It was the apostle of friendship rather than enmity between England and Russia. Its daring exposure of conditions under which young girls were forced into "white slavery" led to the enactment of better laws and to permanent social reforms, although Mr. Stead went to jail for three months on a technical charge resulting from methods used by his assistants to obtain evidence.

Meanwhile Mr. Stead had established interviewing as a feature of London journalism, and he was the most remarkable interviewer yet produced by the modern newspaper. His interest was so intense, his intelligence so alert, and his memory so remarkable, that he could transmute a conversation in which no notes were taken into an extended report of almost flawless accuracy. As an illustration of his methods at that time a personal incident may be related. The present writer, then a young Western editor, had been spending the greater part of the year 1888 in England, where his opportunities for observation and study had been due in large part to the friendship of Mr. Bryce—then in Parliament and now ambassador at Washington—and the late Sir Percy Bunting, editor of the *Contemporary Review*. Mr. Bryce and Mr. Bunting had repeatedly advised the young American that he must know Mr. Stead as the most active and potent personality in English journalism, even though, in their opinion, rather self-willed and prone at times to kick over the traces of the Liberal party, of which they were prominent members. An introduction to Mr. Stead lead to an immediate invitation to spend the night with him in his suburban home at Wimbledon. The first impression made by the *Pall Mall* editor was that of an astonishing vitality and energy. Though like a whirlwind in getting the last forms of his afternoon paper to press, he was effective and methodical in spite of the rapidity of his mental and physical movements.

Arriving at Wimbledon in the autumn twilight, Mr. Stead sprang into a swing suspended from the branch of a great tree behind the house, and swung himself violently back and forth till he had somewhat satisfied his need of exercise and fresh air. After dinner he led the visitor into a narration of what had seemed novel and important to an American familiar with the problems of American cities in the



THE VETERAN JOURNALIST

new undertakings that were transforming Glasgow. A great deal had been going on in Glasgow with which the rest of the world has now for twenty years been catching up. But at that time nobody had studied it or written anything about it. And the American editor had spent a number of weeks in a very minute study of the great Scotch town.

Two or three days later a package of proofs came in the mail to the American's London lodgings. Mr. Stead had cast the conversation into the form of an interview on the social reforms of the municipality of Glasgow, which was so complete and accurate that only a few corrections were needed. It was so long that it was broken into two parts and appeared in successive numbers of the *Pall Mall Gazette*.

Although editor-in-chief of the paper, Mr. Stead gave his own personal touch to any and every part. He could make brilliant copy more rapidly, perhaps, than anyone else, —certainly than anyone else in England. He would brook no interference from the owners of the paper, and on that account he gave up the editorship at the beginning of the year 1890. He had already formed the conception of the *Review of Reviews*, and brought it out at once as an illustrated monthly having its own opinions but also reviewing the world's more significant discussions and presenting a résumé of the more important steps in the making of contempo-

rary history. It was a successful periodical from the beginning, and Mr. Stead continued to edit it until his death. On the very day of the sinking of the *Titanic* his pen was busily engaged, and he was presumably writing an article to be mailed back for the next number of the *Review* on his arrival in New York.

It was upon Mr. Stead's suggestion, and with his help, that the *AMERICAN REVIEW OF REVIEWS* was founded by its present editor in the following year,—namely, early in 1891. Although wholly independent of each other in editorship and control, and quite different in method and appearance, there has been close and unbroken coöperation between Mr. Stead's English *Review* and its American namesake. A great number of invaluable articles from his pen have appeared from time to time in this magazine, written especially to inform American readers about English or European personages and affairs.

Mr. Stead had never crossed the Atlantic until, in the autumn of 1893, he accepted an urgent invitation from his American colleague to come as his guest and see the great exposition at Chicago in its closing days. Mr. Stead at that time had been trying to start a daily newspaper in London, which he had been obliged to discontinue through lack of necessary financial support. This failure was a great disappointment to him, and the moment was one of fatigue and depression such as he had never experienced before. It is only when this is understood that the circumstances of his visit to Chicago can be fully appreciated. His fatigue was so great that he had given a promise not to speak in public during his entire visit.

But he had recently started in England a so-called "civic federation" movement, which had been productive of immediately useful results in a number of English cities and towns, where he had succeeded in bringing about a sort of informal union of all kinds of societies and forces that were working for the betterment of the community, so that their efforts might be mutually helpful. This idea had been taken up in the *AMERICAN REVIEW OF REVIEWS* from Mr. Stead's English work, and the result had been the beginnings of similar organizations in a number of American towns. The plan had appealed strongly to many people in Chicago who were anxious to have the exposition year followed by a well-considered and permanent program for social and moral progress. Mr. Stead was recognized as the apostle of such movements, and when called upon to

expound his views he could not decline what seemed to him a call of duty and an opportunity for usefulness.

He spoke, not once, but many times. Chicago was to him a new and astounding phenomenon. In studying the conditions that needed reform, he was perhaps overimpressed, as a stranger must needs be, by novelty and contrast. He did not quite understand the wholesome forces that were dominant after all in American life; at any rate, he preferred to hold up to American communities a picture of their worst shortcomings. If he did not quite understand Chicago, it is true in like manner that Chicago did not quite understand him. He wrote a book, which he called "If Christ Came to Chicago." Many good and sensitive Americans felt that this scathing exposure of vice and crime lacked balance and proportion. Mr. Stead, of course, would not for a moment have denied that an American might have gone at that time to London or Liverpool and found conditions of misery, poverty, brutality, sin, and crime far worse than those existing in Chicago. Generally speaking, it seems better for the visitor to fight evil in his own country, where he is responsible, than to expose it in another country at the very moment of his first landing upon its shores.

But Mr. Stead did the thing that he saw fit to do. He was a genius, a moral enthusiast, and a law unto himself. He had made his exposure of vice in London ten years before, upon his own sensational plan, and he had shocked many good people, but had accomplished valuable results. The Chicago visit caused him to be misunderstood in America; and it certainly diminished for a number of years the influence which his valuable political and social articles might otherwise have gained. Yet the great National Civic Federation grew out of his suggestions.

From the psychological standpoint, and quite apart from moral considerations, the intensity of Mr. Stead's Chicago crusade was due to reaction from the failure of his daily paper, into which he had thrown himself for a number of weeks with an almost superhuman effort to achieve success by sheer brilliancy and personal power. He had started the paper on faith. He had informed the Lord that if He wished the daily paper to be a success He would have to see that it obtained either a divinely appointed financial backer, or else—and preferably—so large a public support that it would need no capital.

It was a splendid act of faith, and it ought to have succeeded. Mr. Stead's attitude toward the Lord in this matter was very much like that of Senator Jonathan Bourne's attitude toward the people of Oregon. Mr. Stead's paper more than swallowed up in a few days the profits of the successful *Review of Reviews*, and failed; although the people of London ought to have had vision enough and generosity enough to have tided it over and made it all that it might readily have become, a very great and brilliant success.

A prophet is sometimes without honor, for the moment. Yet great progressives are also optimists by nature, and they recover their faith both in the Lord and in their fellow men. Mr. Stead, during the Chicago episode in 1893, felt that he did not want to go back to England at all. It took some firm arguing to show him that London must remain the only possible center for his activities and his worldwide interests and influence. He could not have adapted himself in detail to the institutions of any country but his own, although so ready were his sympathies and so large was his grasp that he could comprehend the principles and the spirit of national life in all countries. He had begun with a great gospel of the mission of the English-speaking world. He was a tremendous Imperialist. It was his expression of the meaning of England, and the influence of Anglo-American ideas, that had created in Cecil Rhodes the ambition to paint with British red as much as possible of the map of Africa.

So strongly committed had Mr. Stead been to the ideals of British rule in Africa, as elsewhere in the world, that many of his friends could never understand why, in later years, he opposed so intensely the objects of the Jameson raid and the subsequent war, that resulted in the conquering and absorption of the two little Boer republics. Mr. Stead would have been delighted with a voluntary federation of the different political entities of South Africa under the egis of the British flag. But he felt that Mr. Chamberlain, as colonial minister, had dealt unfairly with the Boers, and that the war was the result of a conspiracy in which the business affairs of the Chartered South African Company had been discreditably involved. His passion for justice was greater than his zeal for the British Empire. By a singular coincidence, Mr. Chamberlain had sent Alfred Milner, now Lord Milner, to be governor-general and British representative in Cape Colony, and Milner had been one of Mr. Stead's editorial assistants in the early days of the *Pall Mall Gazette*. His attitude as a pro-Boer cost him many friendships and a considerable part of his popular support. Yet he hammered



MR. STEAD ON VACATION AT HAYLING ISLAND

(Mr. Stead had a number of years ago acquired a summer home, which he called Holly Bush, on the south coast of England, at Hayling Island, where with his family he threw himself with great zest into out-of-door recreations, and where, also, he did much of his writing.)



A SNAPSHOT OF MR. STEAD IN CONSTANTINOPLE LAST AUTUMN

away with the same brilliancy and power that he had shown when opposing the Disraeli government and defending the Bulgarians in 1875. The enmities of that period are now forgotten, and the men whom he criticized have, in these last weeks, paid tribute to his sincerity and patriotism.

Mr. Stead's last visit to the United States was in 1907, when he participated in the meetings of the Peace Congress. Nobody in these recent years had been more active and zealous than he for the cause of international harmony. He had written constantly upon various phases of this great question, and had for a time published a special periodical which he called *War Against War*. He had felt strongly that the action of Italy in attempting to seize Tripoli had been wholly unjustified; and he had been the leader in the attempts of the peace societies to secure a reference of the questions at issue to the Hague Tribunal.

His interest in this matter had led to his being invited by the Turkish Government to come to Constantinople and aid in getting the Turkish cause presented for international arbitration. The last interview between Mr. Stead and the present writer was in Paris, one day last October, Mr. Stead leaving that same evening by the Oriental Express for the Turkish capital. His energy and enthusiasm were as great as they had been in the '80's, when he was working for the maintenance of the British navy and a good understanding

with Russia. His visit at Constantinople was intensely interesting. He was even invited to speak on international peace in the great mosque of San Sophia,—an opportunity which his sense of courtesy toward Mohammedan feelings led him to decline.

He had been for a number of years past an earnest worker for a good understanding between England and Germany, and he had been instrumental in bringing a large body of German editors to visit England. Yet he had never ceased to believe that until world conditions are much better than they are it would be necessary for England to maintain her naval supremacy. He was, moreover a firm believer in the wisdom of maintaining the navy of the United States as an agency of peace and a beneficent factor in the harmony and progress of the whole Western Hemisphere.

In private life Mr. Stead was always a man of the utmost simplicity. He was generous to everyone who seemed to be in distress, and his kindness was lavished in particular upon those who deserved it so little that nobody else would help them. For, as he always reasoned, deserving cases could usually find help and relief, while the really needy were the others. He was like an elder brother to his sons and daughters, and a delightful companion and loyal friend to those who had come into the circle of his life. He had always been a believer in extending to women every legal and political responsibility,

as well as every right, that had been granted more perfectly attuned to things not of this to men.

His great interest in psychic research and "occultism," so called, is well known. Many of his friends had deplored his activities as a spiritualist, and doubtless in certain circles his influence was diminished by his editing, for some years, a periodical called *Borderland* and his publishing what he regarded as communications from the spirit world. As for those of us who have not given much study to these matters, and who are not influenced by the things which brought absolute conviction to Mr. Stead's mind, it is at least permissible to be tolerant and to admit that some of our fellow men may be gifted with natures more sensitive than ours and

daughters. Besides his incessant contributions to the daily press and to periodicals, Mr. Stead wrote a very large number of books and brochures. While most of these were journalistic in their method, they were of extraordinary influence and power and of lucid and brilliant style. Three of his four sons were trained by him in practical journalism and the business of publishing. The eldest of these, his namesake, died several years ago. The other two, Alfred and Henry, will continue to carry on the *Review of Reviews* and the business of Stead's Publishing House. Besides three sons, there survive Mrs. Stead and two

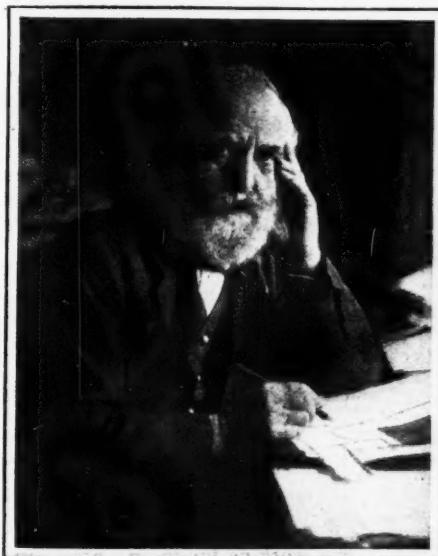
BRITISH TRIBUTES TO MR. STEAD

IN the current number of the London *Review of Reviews* there appear many tributes to Mr. Stead from his former colleagues and other associates. A biographical sketch which was published in the London *Times* immediately after the news of the *Titanic* disaster, is well-informed and sympathetic. In his concluding comment on Mr. Stead's influence as a journalist the writer of this says:

The influence of W. T. Stead on daily journalism in England was great. He struck the personal note. He acclimated the "interview." He developed the "crossheads." He extended the scope of the special article and the signed contribution. He introduced pictorial illustration. All these were the outward signs of the current of fresh vigor and greater vividness of presentment which were an expression of his personality. His taste was not impeccable; but he had at command a wealth of allusion, and he was a master of nervous vivid language. He had a most ingenious and fertile mind; he was subtle dialectician; and his copiousness was prodigious. He was accessible to all comers, though a notice at the bottom of the stairs used to run, "As callers are many and time is short, the former are asked to economize the latter." His correspondence was enormous and he kept all his letters. He did not write shorthand—an idle feat in one possessed of an unusually retentive memory. He was beloved by all who worked with him, for he was always helpful and indulgent and his flow of good spirits was unfailing. His conversation was apt to be monologue, but he was a brilliant and most entertaining talker—full of vivacity, spontaneity, and picturesque phrasing. He was frankly egotistical; but he had a keen sense of fun, he enjoyed nothing more than a laugh at himself, and those who knew the man

at closest quarters liked him best. His generosity was unbounded, and his death will be mourned by a large number of persons of all sorts and conditions whom he had befriended, encouraged, and stimulated.

Of peculiar interest are the reminiscences of Lord Milner who was closely associated with Mr. Stead on the *Pall Mall Gazette* in the early eighties. Looking back over the thirty years that have elapsed Lord Milner affirms his belief that no newspaper in any



A RECENT PORTRAIT



MR. STEAD, WITH OLIVER CROMWELL'S PISTOL AND
A STATUE OF GENERAL GORDON

country has ever exercised so much influence upon public affairs as the *Pall Mall* did during the first years of Mr. Stead's editorship. This, he says, was entirely due to the force of his personality. Speaking of the editorial conferences and discussions that took place in the *Pall Mall* office in those days Lord Milner says:

The real truth was that he loved to develop his ideas dialectically, in discussion with someone personally congenial to him, but whose habit of mind was as dissimilar as possible to his own. How well I remember these daily conflicts. They were among the most vivid experiences of my life. It is impossible to give any idea of the force, the copiousness, the dexterity, the intellectual nimbleness, the range of readily available knowledge, the aptness of illustration, with which he would defend even the most extravagant and paradoxical proposition. His instinct led him to provoke criticism, for it was only in reply to criticism that he could bring all his own forces into the field, and certainly no man less resented criticism or took a

more keen delight in argumentative encounter. He would go on debating, with the printers screaming for "copy," till he sometimes left himself less than half an hour to write or dictate a leading article; then he would dash it off at top-speed, and embody in it, with astonishing facility, the whole gist and essence of the preceding discussion.

It has been my good fortune in life to be brought into contact with an exceptional number of men of great and diverse ability. Among them all I cannot recall one who was anything like his equal in vitality. It is quite superfluous to dwell on his gifts as a writer; but his conversation was far more brilliant and stimulating than the best of his writing. I don't suppose any editor was ever so beloved by his staff, from the first lieutenant down to the office-boy. It was such fun to work with him. The tremendous "drive," the endless surprises, the red-hot pace at which everything was carried on, were rendered not only tolerable but delightful by his never-failing geniality and by that glorious gift of humor, not always apparent in his writing, which made him so fascinating a companion. His sympathy, his generosity, his kindness were lavished on all who came within his reach.

Lord Esher contributes a fund of recollections not only of his own relations with Mr. Stead, but of pithy remarks that were made at various times by other notable Englishmen concerning the great journalist's striking characteristics:

His influence upon public affairs was not spasmodic. It never relaxed. Although he ran up many blind alleys, he wonderfully sustained through life his onward march. It is a curious and humiliating reflection that such a man, so disinterested and so patriotic, could for forty years ardently promote everything that is noblest and best in the life of his country without receiving any public mark or recognition of his national and imperial work. He died poor and unrewarded. Yet he was rich in the esteem of many noble minds, and honored by the confidence of the greatest among his contemporaries. I once said to General Gordon, "You appear to me always walking with God." He replied, "Some of us do. Look at Stead."

Captain Fisher of the *Excellent* thirty years ago called him the missionary, fearless even when alone, believing in his God—the God of Truth—a man of big heart and great emotions; an exploder of "gas-bags," and the terror of liars.

Lord Fisher, since his death, has written of him, "Old Stead only feared God. He feared no one else. He told me, when I was at the Admiralty, to remember Nebuchadnezzar, but he never needed to be told. He was humble-minded from his mother's womb."

In the early days of their friendship Rhodes said to me, speaking of Stead, "He is the greatest patriot I know; England is his home, and every foot of ground over which the British flag flies is his native land."

No man in our time had talked with so many people, from the highest to the lowest. No man was ever more trusted by those with whom he talked, and no man was more deserving of confidence. He was highly tested, when his profession is considered, and his intimate knowledge of

secret things is appreciated. The test never failed. For some reason difficult to explain men and women spoke to him with unusual freedom from reserve. Yet even the secrets of his enemies were safe.

Said Earl Grey, speaking at the Press Fund dinner:

Although often profoundly differing from his views, I have always regarded with affection and esteem his chivalrous and Quixotic character, and have admired him, certainly during the early eighties, as the first of journalists. I remember how, in the early eighties, he forced by his articles entitled "The Truth of the Navy, by One Who Knows," Mr. Gladstone, the most powerful minister of our time, to spend most grudgingly an additional £6,000,000 on the strengthening of our navy. I remember how he forced the same reluctant minister to send out Gordon to Khartoum, and I never shall forget his heroic exertions to secure the expedition of a relief column to Gordon's assistance at a time when there was good reason to believe it would have been successful. I remember how he again practically single-handed literally forced upon the statute book the Criminal Law Amendment Act.

Dr. E. J. Dillon, whose lot it was to appear frequently in the rôle of antagonist to Mr. Stead, in the discussion of Russian politics, makes this generous comment:

All great abuses kindled a volcanic fire in the heart of Mr. Stead, and all great reform schemes electrified him. No sacrifice was too great to suppress the one or to further the other. And once he set out upon a chivalrous campaign of this kind, he idealized every thing and every person capable of advancing the cause.

Dr. Dillon, who knows his Russia as few living Englishmen know it, tells how the news of Mr. Stead's death was received in that part of the world:

His end, like his life, was grandiose, heroic. The tidings, at once mournful and soul-stirring, when flashed across the wires, evoked a heartfelt response from one end of Russia to the other. Members of all parties, of all classes, of all creeds and nationalities, commemorated Stead with gratitude and pride. "The prince of European journalists," one publicist calls him; "the soul of social reform" is the term applied to him by another, and "the genuine friend of Russia" by all. In the remotest towns his name is familiar. In parts of Finland it is a household word. It will live in the world's history.

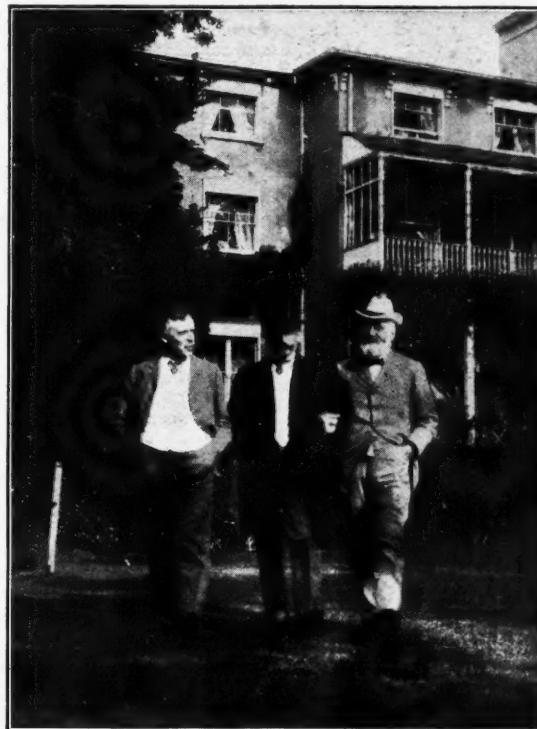
Mr. J. L. Garvin admirably sums up Mr. Stead's service to journalism in this paragraph:

It was in sheer vitality and vitalizing power that he excelled. As a living and energizing personal force, giving vivid being to the paper stuff that may so easily become waste, dead matter, and into which no man can put more than he can take out of himself, I doubt whether he ever had an equal in journalism. More than anyone else he realized that though it works with words, it is a matter of action, not merely a chorus to contemporary life expressing the comments of passive witnesses. Stead was splendidly the journalist as a man of action holding his own with men of action, from the top down

in all the other spheres. He was the only journalist who has been an international figure in his own right apart from any particular newspaper. He was not only a man of genius; he was possessed by ideas as only a man of strong genius can be. That was his hindrance in several ways, but it was that which made him.

Other of Mr. Stead's brilliant qualities as an editor are described by Mr. J. A. Spender, a friend of many years' standing:

He was a man of extraordinary precision and grasp of detail. Hardly ever have I known him wrong about a fact, and his power of reducing masses of detail to brief and lucid statements was unequalled. Give him the biggest Blue-Book, and he would have the heart out of it in half an hour



A GARDEN PARTY AT CAMBRIDGE HOUSE, WIMBLEDON
(Mr. Stead in argument with Herbert Burrows and another guest)



MR. AND MRS. W. T. STEAD
(Taken during their honeymoon)

and a luminous summary, omitting nothing of any importance, going to press within an hour. His articles were like the hewing of a straight path through a tangled forest. There might be woods and bogs to right and left, but he troubled nothing about them, so long as his own path was clear. His talk made much more allowance than his writing for the complexity of things, and there was no better critic in London of other people's views. Pose a question, and he would talk it out from a dozen points of view with the keenest sense of its complications.

The following paragraph from Dr. Clifford's address at the memorial service held in Westminster Chapel aptly expresses what has been in many minds when seeking to epitomize the qualities and activities that went to make up this remarkable personality:

Many of us, perhaps most of us, think of William T. Stead as a journalist, brilliant, rapid,

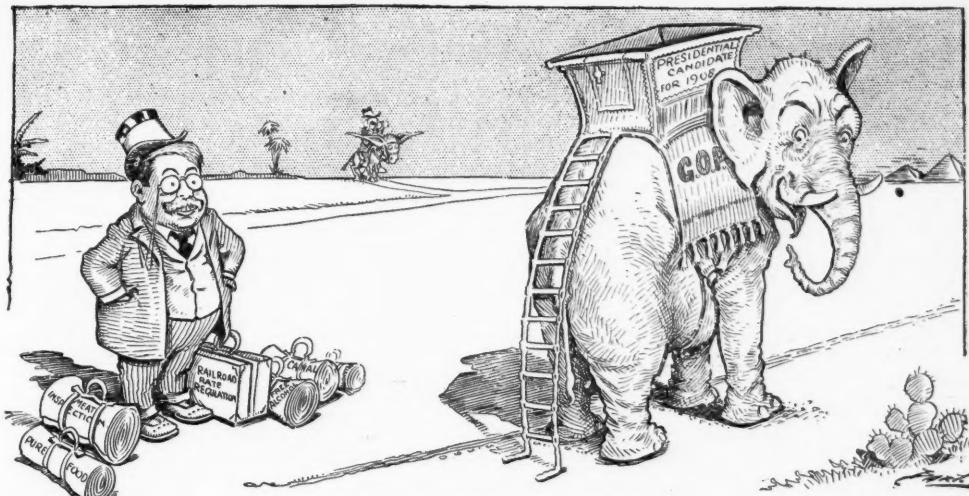
unconventional, accomplished, his mind a fountain ever fresh and full of original ideas, his resources apparently exhaustless, and his energy without bounds. To me he was as a prophet who had come straight out of the Old Testament into our modern storm-swept life. I recognize his primacy among the editors of the eighties and nineties of the last century; but for him the press was a sword to cut down the foes of righteousness, a platform from which to hearten and inspire the armies of the Lord, a pulpit from which to preach his crusades, a desk at which he could expound his policy for making a new heaven and a new earth. He was a man with a mission, and journalism was the organ through which he wrought at it. *He wrote to get things done—done, and not merely talked about.*

In similar vein is the comment of H. W. Massingham, in the (*Nation*) London:

It is not difficult to predict the place which this vital and original personality will hold in the history of his time. He will live as the man who made of modern journalism in England a powerful personal force. He found it a thing of conventions and respectabilities, buried in anonymity, and fettered by party ties. The newspaper was a collective "organ of opinion." He made it the instrument of one intensely individual mind. Stead's main conception of an editor's duty was to be himself. He realized as no one before him had done, and as few who have come after him have dared to do, the power which a newspaper gave him to record himself with headlines and bold type, with recitative and chorus, on a pedestal of fact and news once in every four-and-twenty hours. His temperament was that of the great pamphleteers. In his boldness and versatility, in his faith in the constructive power of the pen, in many of his opinions, even in his championship of women, he resembled Defoe.

Sir Henry Lunn, who had been an intimate of Mr. Stead's for more than a quarter of a century, gives in the *British Weekly* an interesting account of Mr. Stead's relations to important developments in British politics. He gives an entertaining illustration of the way in which Mr. Stead accomplished his journalistic feats. On one occasion he wished to interview the King of the Belgians on the Congo question. Mr. Stead himself told the story as follows:

I wanted to see the King, and I asked a certain man if he could tell me how to do it. He said, "Do you know So-and-So? By approaching him you might manage an interview with So-and-So, who is in the Belgian Court." I wanted to get the thing done, so I went to the telegraph office and telegraphed, "His Majesty the King of the Belgians. I am coming to see your Majesty on the Congo question.—Stead, Editor *Pall Mall Gazette*." And within twenty-four hours I had an interview with the King in print in the columns of the *Pall Mall Gazette*.



THE PARTY WAS WILLING TO TAKE HIM IN 1908

THE G. O. P. ELEPHANT: "Come, Mr. President, I'll furnish you another free ride if you'll just get aboard"
From the *Journal* (Minneapolis)

ROOSEVELT AND THE THIRD TERM

IN 1900 Mr. Roosevelt was Governor of the State of New York, and early in that year he had announced that he would be a candidate for another term. His friends were confident that he would be re-elected and would continue to make a good record as Governor. He had entered political life at an early age, and had been a sturdy and aggressive figure in the Republican party, and widely known throughout the whole country, for almost twenty years. He had fought for reforms in the State and city government of New York in the '80's, and he had served for years as chairman of the Civil Service board at Washington when civil-service reform was struggling to overthrow the spoils system that had been entrenched ever since the days of Jackson.

Mr. Roosevelt's friends were justified in believing that they could bring him forward as a strong Presidential candidate in the year 1904. He had never intrigued for any office or position. He had never refused to take up hard and unattractive tasks in government and politics. Mr. McKinley's renomination in 1900 was unopposed. There had been no self-seeking on Mr. McKinley's part, and no use of patronage or power to force himself upon his party for a second term. Conditions had arisen, growing out of the war with Spain, that made his renomination a logical party act. Furthermore, Mr. McKinley had shown himself an unselfish and patriotic

President, and had devoted himself quietly and faithfully to the duties of his office.

The great question in the Philadelphia convention had to do with the selection of a candidate for the second place. Contrary to all his plans and personal preferences, Mr. Roosevelt was drafted by the convention, and his sense of duty obliged him to accept. His enemies at once declared that his active political career was at an end. Exactly the same forces in politics that are against him now were at that time conspiring to keep him out of positions of real power. Before Mr. McKinley had served a year in his second term he was assassinated. Mr. Roosevelt left all the departments of the Government in the hands of Mr. McKinley's cabinet, coöperating with them harmoniously, and carrying the second McKinley term to its end with great dignity and with the highest kind of executive ability.

In any case, Mr. Roosevelt would have been the foremost candidate for the Presidency in 1904. But because the people had now tested him in the office it was not necessary that his claims should be pushed in any way upon the party or the country. Mr. Roosevelt fully realized that a man actually holding the office of President must give his whole time to the great executive duties that he has sworn to fulfill to the best of his ability. It is true that for a time certain political bosses, in league with selfish and monopolistic

business interests, tried to see if it might not be possible to organize the party machinery against President Roosevelt's nomination. But a single ray of publicity turned upon the movement was enough to destroy it. It cannot be too emphatically declared that President Roosevelt, in 1904, was renominated by the overwhelming demand of the Republican party, and not in the slightest degree by any improper use of the prestige or patronage of the Presidential office. If there had been a national, direct Presidential primary, it is not likely that any other candidate would have permitted the use of his name. Mr. Roosevelt was nominated unanimously and by acclamation.

The Democrats, dominated by the conservative interests of the East, nominated Judge Alton B. Parker. Mr. Roosevelt's popularity gave him an overwhelming victory. Not only had he diverted no part of his time and energy to the securing of the nomination, but he held steadily, and without an hour's interruption, to the work of his office during the entire period of the campaign, from June till November. In the latter part of the campaign, the supporters of Judge Parker brought forward the rather amusing argument that Mr. Roosevelt was dangerous because he had so earned the confidence of the people as to have become popular.

The argument, in its essence, was that Roosevelt ought to be defeated in 1904, because, if elected, he would serve the people so faithfully and well that they would almost certainly want to elect him again in 1908. Thus, if the people should be wise enough to elect somebody whom they really did not care much for, they would be the better able to resist the temptation of continuing to employ the services of a man who served them well. Undoubtedly there were some Republicans, also, who were a little worried by Mr. Roosevelt's popularity. They had their own ambitions, and wanted a clear field in 1908. Mr. Roosevelt ignored this rather silly discussion until Election Day came around, when the country was impressed by the unprecedented sweep of his great victory. Then, on the night of Election Day, November 8, he made the following announcement:

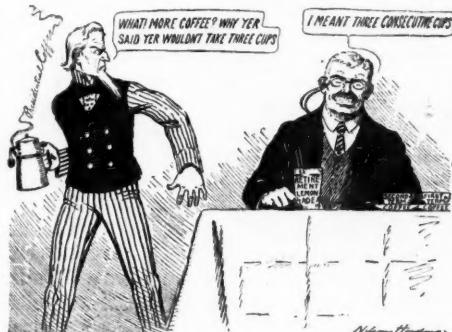
I am deeply sensible of the honor done me by the American people in thus expressing their confidence in what I have done and have tried to do. I appreciate to the full the solemn responsibility this confidence imposes upon me, and I shall do all that in my power lies not to forfeit it. On the 4th of March next I shall have served three and one-half years, and this three and one-half years constitutes my first term. The wise custom which limits

the President to two terms regards the substance and not the form. Under no circumstances will I be a candidate for or accept another nomination.

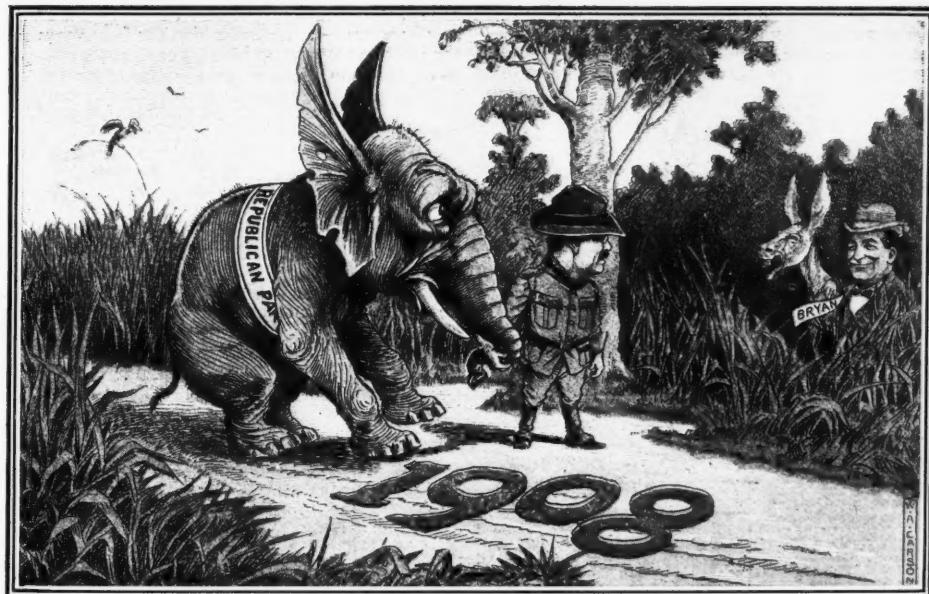
The supporters of Mr. Taft, in the President's effort to force his own renomination, have now everywhere declared that this announcement of Mr. Roosevelt's was in the nature of an explicit pledge that he would never, throughout the term of his natural life, allow himself to be brought forward for the Presidency. Mr. Roosevelt, upon his own part, declares that, while he had not expected or planned ever to become a candidate, his announcement of November 8, 1904, had sole reference to the year 1908. The extraordinary virulence of the attacks upon Mr. Roosevelt, both by the newspapers supporting Taft and by the President himself, in their charges that he is breaking a solemn pledge, would seem to call for some frank discussion in the interests of the truth.

In the first place, Mr. Roosevelt would seem to have a superior right to tell us what he himself meant. In the second place, it is worth while to ask what was generally understood by his statement at the time when he made it. And in the third place, it is even more important to inquire into the reasons why such a statement should be made at all, and to get at the fundamental matters involved.

Let us begin with the third of these considerations. The Constitution tells clearly who are eligible for the Presidency. It leaves it to the people, acting in a certain way, to choose whomsoever they will from among those having legal qualifications. To say that there is any "binding tradition" as to the number of terms a President should have is palpably absurd. It has been a custom not to give the President more than two consecutive terms. It was this "custom" Mr. Roosevelt called a "wise" one in his statement of 1904.



THAT THIRD CUP
From the *Eagle* (Brooklyn)



WHAT MANY REPUBLICANS THOUGHT DURING ROOSEVELT'S SECOND TERM

THE ELEPHANT: "I don't like the looks of that fellow, Theodore. You'd better stay with me till I get past 1908."

From the *Saturday Globe* (Utica)

There is nothing binding about the custom, duties of his office. As this magazine stated and the people have no reason to be afraid of themselves. They will never elect to the Presidency a man they do not want. And if they want a man there is no possible reason why they should not elect him. The chief reason against consecutive terms in the Presidential office is to be found in the growing power of the Presidency.

So great has this power become that the selfish and unscrupulous holder of the place may not only conspire to control the nominating machinery of his own party, but may also be a member of the conspiracy that aims to control the machinery of the opposing party, for the sake of putting up an even weaker and more objectionable candidate. Executive tyranny and government by bureaucracy have lately become a menace in this country. The remedy, however, does not lie chiefly in devices for preventing the people from continuing the services of a good President. The remedy lies in giving the people a chance to control nominations as well as elections.

There was no need of Mr. Roosevelt's announcement in 1904, for in no case would he have abused the powers of his office for the sake of obtaining a renomination. But he wished to make it clear, so that nobody could think otherwise, that he was proposing to give undivided and impartial attention to the

case at the time, "his decision under no circumstances to be a candidate again served notice upon all men and all interests that no thought of a political future could enter into his public actions during the four years and four months that would intervene between Election Day and his retirement on March 4, 1909." So much for the reasons underlying Mr. Roosevelt's decision.

Now, as regards the way in which the country received that decision, and the meaning attached to it by the press, it is worth while to turn back and search the files of the newspapers. In view of the current tone of alarm and warning in *Harper's Weekly*, for example, it is not unfair to remind Colonel Harvey that he published the following editorial comment in November, 1904:

President Roosevelt will be only fifty-four years old in 1912. Suppose the Republicans should be beaten in 1908, and four years later should implore him to lead them once more to victory, would he not deem it his duty to obey the summons, as Grant would have done in 1880, and as, we cannot but believe, Grover Cleveland would have done this year? We should bear in mind that the popular objection is not so much to a third term as to a third *consecutive* term. If the series be broken, the danger of federal patronage being used for the perpetuation of personal power is manifestly eliminated. It might, indeed, be well for the people that the occupant of the Chief Magistracy for the

second term should know at some future day—not less than four years after he left the White House—he might be invited to return thereto, provided he had earned the respect and confidence of his fellow countrymen.

The following statement in the New York *Herald* of November 10, 1904, sent from its Washington office, throws some light upon the political conditions existing at the time:

President Roosevelt made up his mind fully two weeks ago that if he were elected he would forswear another term. . . . He declined at the time to declare himself out of the race in 1908. This he did because he feared that such a declaration would be taken as an effort to make political capital in the campaign. . . . If the President had not eliminated himself last night there would have been indirect pressure brought by the various candidates for Presidential honors in 1908. That was the case after President McKinley was elected in 1900. His convictions were well known, but Senator Fairbanks and other ambitious men desired a formal declaration.

These men are considered available for the nomination in 1908: Elihu Root, of New York; William H. Taft, of Ohio; Leslie M. Shaw, of Iowa; Senator Fairbanks, Senator Knox, and Senator Beveridge, of Indiana. Secretary Taft is regarded as the man with the brightest chances.

Expressions quoted below from the New York *World*, the New York *Sun*, and the New York *Times* would seem to indicate that they regarded the announcement as having a bearing upon the situation in 1908, rather than upon a remoter future:

World, November 9 (editorial):

If President Roosevelt will be satisfied with this splendid vote of confidence, the climax of his whole



PLOWING FOR A THIRD TERM
From the *Journal* (Portland, Ore.)

career, the greatest personal triumph ever won by any President—if he will strive for four years for the place in history to which his earlier ideals would have bid him aspire—the popular mandate resisted and deplored by Democrats and independents may yet redound to the welfare and the true glory of the republic. His announcement that he will not be a candidate for reëlection is a first firm and most sagacious step in the right direction.

Sun, November 9 (editorial):

Mr. Roosevelt may have coveted a second election and have regarded himself as eligible for a third term, believing, as he does, that the American people have no objection to continuing in office a deserving servant of proved fidelity.

To his everlasting honor be it said that last night, in the hour of his triumph, he deliberately renounced this not unreasonable theory. He will retire from office on the 4th of March, 1909, content with a single election by the people. It is solely to this end that his ambition has looked and his political energies have been devoted.

Times, November 9 (editorial, written before the news of the announcement):

We hope that the President will bear in mind that the great vote which has come to him from outside his party, being easily detachable, cannot be counted upon to stand by him for all policies or in all contingencies. If his party keeps on in its present path and the radical Democrats once more come into control of their party, he may find that his friends of 1904 will by no means be his friends in 1908. In spite of any resolve that he may form or express not to be the candidate of his party four years hence, it seems almost impossible that he should not be its candidate. Nothing but his irrevocable refusal to run can take him out of the field.

Times, November 10 (editorial):

The statement of Mr. Roosevelt, made the instant the result of the election was known, evidently the fruit of mature deliberation with reference to that result, may fairly be regarded as a declaration of independence from those influences, from that kind of party allegiance, which in the recent past has seemed to him requisite. Certainly it is not easy to see how any politician, however powerful, can present to him, in the next four years, any inducement to depart a hair's breadth from what he believes to be the very best line of conduct.

An editorial in the New York *Independent* of the ensuing week (November 17, 1904) is in keeping with what seems to have been the general understanding. This writer did not for a moment suppose that Mr. Roosevelt had been making an announcement intended to bear directly upon anything excepting the situation in 1908:

Mr. Roosevelt wisely declares that he will not seek a reëlection. What is there for him after that?

[Editorial goes on to mention possible presidency of Harvard, possible service as United States Senator or member of the lower House.]

At the age of fifty he will yet have twenty-five years of active life before him. He may again, after a space, be chosen President; but the last

thing the country should expect of him is that he hide himself at Oyster Bay.

One finds in the Philadelphia *Press* the following interpretations, which were in full accord with general opinion at the time:

November 9 (editorial):

He is eligible even under the accepted unwritten law. He is only filling an unexpired term. This is his first election as President. It would not have been strange if he had aspired to a second. He might have remained silent. He chooses to speak and settle the question.

November 10 (special dispatch from Washington):

Mr. Roosevelt made another master stroke when he last night took himself absolutely out of the field of candidates for the nomination in 1908. His determination to make this announcement was formed without consultation with his advisers and was . . . his own free, uninfluenced action. . . . The President's announcement that he will not be a candidate or accept a nomination four years hence has inspired great expectations of an ideal administration during his second term.

The Philadelphia *Public Ledger* interpreted the statement in such clear and sensible phrases as these:

His early declaration leaves the way open, as it would not otherwise have been, for thoughtful plans for the party succession, while leaving the President himself free to carry through his second term with no other care than that of the greatest good to the whole country, which has so magnificently displayed its trust in him.

In editorials of November 9 and November 10, the Boston *Herald* gave its interpretation:

November 9 :

The prompt announcement made by President Roosevelt that he will not be a candidate for the Presidency in 1908 simplifies the future political conditions by removing from the election arena the most potent personality in the Republican party.

November 10:

Apropos of President Roosevelt's prompt announcement that under no circumstances will he be a candidate for reëlection, which would practically be for a third term, the New York *Times* finds it impossible to believe that he will not be.

Both *Leslie's Weekly* and *Harper's Weekly* were of opinion that in spite of his statement to the contrary, his services might be demanded by the party in 1908; and they evidently saw no inherent reason why such a demand should not be heeded. Witness the following remarks:

Leslie's Weekly, November 17 (editorial):

There is a strong probability that his sway over the minds and hearts of his own countrymen, and his influence in the rest of the world, will increase

in the term for which he has just been chosen, and that this may create a call for his reëlection in 1908, much as he may be opposed to such a suggestion.

Harper's Weekly, November 19 (editorial):

We cannot say that we approve of his position, for the reason that circumstances might arise which would put him in flat opposition to the welfare of the country and the desires of the people; nor in these times do we attach much importance even to the wholly misunderstood two-term tradition.

The fact is that the editors of these weeklies were right in predicting that the party might disregard Roosevelt's views about the "wise custom," and call upon him to take another consecutive term. The pressure in that direction was greater than the public



THE HUNTER HUNTED (OCTOBER, 1907)
From the *Journal* (Minneapolis)

will ever know. Almost every one of the old party leaders who are now denouncing the "third term" begged and implored Mr. Roosevelt to disregard his pledge and take the nomination in 1908. They could then see no harm even in a third consecutive term. They promised to hold Mr. Roosevelt guiltless before the country by showing that he had not sought the nomination and that it had been forced upon him.

Mr. Roosevelt would have been nominated at Chicago in spite of himself, if he had not done everything that he reasonably could to persuade the party in advance to unite upon another candidate. His name had gone on the ticket in 1900 against his earnest protests. He was nominated in 1904 by general acclaim, and without effort or demand upon

his own part. He avoided a nomination in 1908 by sheer insistence. He did what he could to secure Mr. Taft's nomination, although he was not guilty of any improper use of executive patronage or power, and he did not for a moment play politics to the neglect of the high duties of his office. Mr. Taft's nomination and election were intended by the party and country as a vote of confidence in the Roosevelt administration, and a continuance of its personnel and policies.

This is not the place for a review of Mr. Taft's administration. It became evident, soon after his election, that the party did not find in him the leader and statesman that it had hoped for. One disappointment followed another, and the country's opinion was expressed in the sweeping condemnation of 1910, when a Democratic Congress was elected for the first time in a great many years. There is no well-informed politician or newspaper man in either party who does not know the methods that have been used, not merely in the past few weeks, but throughout the entire Taft administration, to make sure of the President's renomination. No such methods have ever been used at any time in the history of the country. Never before has the gaining of a second term been the paramount business of an administration. The supporters of the President have taken the novel ground that a renomination "belonged" to him, and that the mere preference of another candidate was something in the nature of treason and a thing to be followed up with unremitting persecution.

At the start, Mr. Taft's renomination was more than probable. The only thing that ever endangered it was the kind of effort made to secure it. The great progressive leaders of the Republican party were solemnly excommunicated by bulls from the White House at the very moment when fully three-fourths of the party was progressive and in sympathy with real tariff revision. Every bargain made for delegates at the expense of principle meant the loss of delegates in some other State where principle chiefly counted. Never in the history of American politics have there been such lack of vision and such an unbounded capacity for doing the wrong thing. The Republican party presented the specta-

cle of a President desperately and belligerently trying to force his renomination upon a party that would gladly have offered him a second term if he had been content to devote himself to his office and leave the question of renomination wholly to the people.

Mr. Roosevelt could not possibly have been a candidate this year if Mr. Taft had merely trusted the people and paid no attention to the shifting winds and currents of politics. For Mr. Roosevelt did not make himself a candidate, and did not desire to be brought forward. The widespread opposition to the Taft administration could be generally united upon Mr. Roosevelt, while it could not be united upon Mr. La Follette. Under these circumstances Mr. Roosevelt yielded to a demand. Let it be remembered that Mr. Roosevelt was a private citizen. Against him was arrayed the vast power of the federal machine, reinforced by its alliances with nearly all of the State Republican machines. Mr. Roosevelt cannot fairly be stigmatized as a seeker after the office. His strength has been merely that of the plain members of the party in States where public opinion had an opportunity to express itself. He is violating no pledge, and disturbing no custom, tradition or myth.

The very newspapers which have most to say about the third term in their bitterness against Mr. Roosevelt were the most urgent supporters of Grover Cleveland for a third term in 1904. They fully explained at that time that there was no valid argument against a third term that was not consecutive. The *New York Times*, the *New York World*, and the *New York Evening Post* were among the papers that were highly favorable to a third term for Mr. Cleveland. Yet Mr. Cleveland had already run for the Presidency three times, while Mr. Roosevelt has run only once,—namely, in 1904. The Republican party will not nominate Mr. Roosevelt unless it prefers him; and the country will not elect him if it prefers the candidate of the Democratic party. But neither in the Chicago convention nor at the polls in November will Mr. Roosevelt fail merely because of warnings against a third term. Fortunately, the people of the country have common sense and a full belief in their own power to choose or to reject.



THE UNIT RULE AND THE TWO-THIRDS RULE

UNDEMOCRATIC DEVICES USED BY THE DEMOCRATIC PARTY

BY PROFESSOR C. S. POTTS

(School of Government, University of Texas)

AMIDST the turmoil and the confusion of the political campaign one thing at least seems reasonably certain. There is a widespread and rapidly growing distrust of the convention system of nominating candidates for office. For proof of this fact one only needs to remember that since the present campaign began five State legislatures have adopted Presidential primary laws—some of the legislatures being called in special session for that particular purpose—while in several other States voluntary primaries have been provided for by the State committees of the two leading parties. In addition to all this a bill fathered by Senator Cummins has been introduced in Congress for establishing a national primary election system, and the progressive wing of the Republican party is committed to its support. In fact, it is not at all unlikely that, after this campaign, there will never be another President nominated by the convention system as it has existed in the past.

THE GROWING DISTRUST OF THE CONVENTION SYSTEM

This growing distrust on the part of the voters is not confined to the convention system, but seems to extend to practically all representative bodies. It is entirely probable that the chicanery and violence of political conventions have helped to prejudice the public mind against State legislatures and city councils, and in that way have stimulated the demand for the initiative, the referendum, and the recall. But be that as it may, there can be no doubt that a very large part of the people are in arms against the trickery and misrepresentation of the conventions and are determined to have a more direct voice in naming their candidates for office.

One cause of the revolt against the convention as a means of nominating Presidential candidates is the utterly unfair and reprehensible system of distributing delegates among the various States. By using population instead of party strength as a basis

for delegates the Republican party in the Southern States—assuredly the least respectable portion of the party—is given a voice out of all proportion to its importance, and, through the power of the patronage, becomes a pliant tool in the hands of a Republican President for returning himself to power or for dictating his successor. Another reason for distrusting the national conventions is the method of selecting the delegates, not directly by the people, but from conventions of delegates three or four degrees removed from the people. At each successive remove, as John C. Calhoun said in 1844, the voice of the people becomes fainter and fainter until finally it ceases entirely, and the delegates substitute their own will for that of their constituents.¹

But whatever the causes may be it cannot be doubted that there is a strong belief on the part of the people that the national conventions are not truly representative of the wishes of the people for whom they assume to speak. In the national convention, the people believe, are gathered the political bosses from all parts of the country, not to seek the country's best interests, nor to carry out the wishes of their constituents, but to play at the "dirty game of politics," to struggle for the "spoils of office" for themselves and their henchmen, to scheme and plan, to swap and trade and log-roll, with the votes of the State delegations as their chief stock in trade. And back of it all and in it all, they believe, as the chief wire-pullers, stand the representatives of Big Business, ever alert for an opportunity to advance their own interests.

THE UNIT RULE

However much this picture of the evils of the convention system may be overdrawn, it represents the views of a large and respect-

¹ For a fuller discussion of these objections to the convention system, see an article on "The Convention System and the Presidential Primary," by the present writer in the May number of this magazine.

able part of the American public, and it cannot be denied that the history of the conventions furnishes ample grounds for these views. Now, many of the evils of the convention system are inherent and will last as long as this method of making nominations is retained, but others result from rules and practices of the conventions that could and should be abolished. Such rules, by clogging the machinery of the conventions and interfering with its freedom of action, increase the power and the opportunity of the bosses to manipulate the delegates, and, by defeating the will of the majority, contribute much to the popular distrust of all delegate bodies.

Among such rules the most conspicuously bad are the "unit rule" and the "two-thirds rule," rules still retained in the Democratic conventions though long since discarded by the Republican party. The unit rule, which requires the delegates from a State to cast the entire vote of the State as a unit, had its origin in the days when a State might be represented in the national convention by a number of delegates largely in excess of the number of votes to which the State was entitled. Thus in 1835 the State convention of Maryland, not caring to discriminate between its members, elected them all as delegates to the second national Democratic convention, which was to be held in Baltimore, giving that State a delegation of 181. Of the 620 delegates present in that convention 422 were from four near-by States. Obviously in such a body, it would be unfair to allow a *per capita* vote to dictate the policies of the party, so a resolution was adopted that the vote was to be taken by States and that each State was to have as many votes as it had votes in the Electoral College. In this way Maryland was deprived of the advantage of her great numbers, while the fifteen votes of Tennessee, in the absence of an elected delegate, were cast by a Mr. Rucker, a private citizen of that State who happened to be visiting in Baltimore at the time.

THE UNIT RULE DEFEATS CLAY

While the votes in the Baltimore convention were taken by States, it is not certain that the vote from a given State could not be divided. The first certain use of the unit principle seems to have been in the Whig convention of 1839, which met at Harrisburg. Here Mr. C. B. Penrose, of Philadelphia, secured the adoption of the unit rule as a part of as crafty a political scheme as the country has ever seen, devised for the purpose

of defeating Henry Clay and securing the nomination of William Henry Harrison. The scheme worked beautifully, and the great Kentuckian afterwards bitterly complained that his party had three times made him its candidate when no Whig could be elected and had tricked him out of the nomination at a time when no Whig candidate could have been defeated.

Not only does the unit rule tend to crush out individual opinion and increase the power of the boss by giving him the solid vote of his State as trading capital, but it may result in the nomination of a minority candidate over a majority one. Possibly an illustration will help to make this clear. Suppose, for example, that Harmon gets the forty-eight votes of Ohio, and Wilson the twenty-eight of New Jersey. Of the twenty-six votes from Kentucky, let us say Harmon gets ten and Wilson sixteen. That gives Harmon a total of fifty-eight to Wilson's forty-four. But under the unit rule Wilson would get all of Kentucky's twenty-six votes, which, added to New Jersey's twenty-eight, would give him fifty-four, to Harmon's forty-eight. This is a change of ten convention votes, and in a close contest would give Wilson the nomination. In this way it is possible for the unit rule to shift a considerable part of the total convention vote, with corresponding changes in the final result.

It will readily be seen that the objection to the unit rule carries with it an objection to the use of the State as the sole unit of representation in the national convention. For, if there are to be any instructions at all, they should be given by the body that sends the delegates. So, unless the delegates are to go to the national convention without instruction, the remedy for the evils of the unit rule would seem to be in the use of the Congressional district or some smaller area as the unit of representation. Such a change would seem to be desirable, for the smaller the instructing area the more certainly will the voice of the voter have a chance to be heard.

THE TWO-THIRDS RULE

It would follow from what has just been said that so long as the State is retained as the area represented by the delegates in the National Convention, something of an excuse exists for retaining the unit rule on all matters upon which the State convention has given instructions. But what excuse can be offered for the two-thirds rule, the rule that requires a candidate to receive the votes of two-thirds

of the delegates before he can be declared the nominee? The framers of the Constitution—an extremely conservative body of men—did not deem it dangerous to place the election of the President in the hands of a simple numerical majority, whether the election should be made by the Electoral College or by the House of Representatives. But here we have the party that has always professed to trust the people and to believe in the principle of majority rule requiring two-thirds of its members to put forward the party's candidate for the Presidency.

The inevitable result of such a rule is to defeat the will of the majority, unless that majority be an overwhelming one, and to substitute therefor the will of the minority,—at least, their will not to have the candidate preferred by the majority. Such a contest usually ends in neither faction having its way. The delegates, worn out with the long days and nights of fruitless struggle, finally turn to a compromise candidate who has not been before the people at all and upon whom they have had no chance to pass judgment, or, worse still, a man who has been before the people but whose candidacy has met with no effective support. In either case the voice of the people is drowned in the uproar of the convention, and that body substitutes its own will for that of the voters.

This objection to the two-thirds rule was ably stated by Senator Thomas H. Benton, of Missouri, more than fifty years ago. After quoting from Calhoun's vigorous attack on the convention system, Mr. Benton, in his "Thirty Years' View," adds:

One other objection to these degenerate conventions Mr. Calhoun did not mention, but it has become since he made his address a prominent one, and an abuse in itself, which insures success to the train-band mercenaries whose profligate practices he so well describes. This is the two-thirds rule, as it is called; the rule that requires a vote of two-thirds of the convention to make a nomination. This puts it in the power of the minority to govern the majority, and enables a few veteran intriguers to manage as they please.

THE ORIGIN OF THE TWO-THIRDS RULE

The origin of the two-thirds rule goes back to the first National Democratic Convention ever held. This convention, which was held in Baltimore in 1832 (six out of the first seven Democratic Conventions were held in the Maryland metropolis and the eighth in 1860 held its adjourned sessions there), was called for the purpose of nominating a candidate for Vice-President as Jackson's run-

ning mate, the Old Hero being without Democratic opposition for the first place. The convention, which was more of a national mass meeting than a convention in the modern sense, was very loosely organized, and on the second day adopted the following rule:

That each State be entitled, in the nomination to be made of a candidate for the Vice-Presidency, to a number of votes equal to the number to which they will be entitled in the Electoral College, under the new apportionment, in voting for President and Vice-President; and that two thirds of the whole number of the votes in the convention shall be necessary to constitute a choice.

This rule seems to have been adopted with little or no discussion, due doubtless to the fact that Van Buren, Jackson's choice for the Vice-Presidency, had considerably more than the necessary two-thirds, and was nominated on the first ballot. But the adoption of the two-thirds rule in the convention of 1835 produced a strenuous fight. General Romulus M. Saunders of North Carolina, who made the report of the Committee on Rules, said that the majority of the committee had reached the conclusion that a nomination by a two-thirds vote "would give a more imposing effect" than a nomination by a simple majority. He added that "it was to be presumed that no one had the most remote desire to frustrate the proceedings, and provided a majority should on the first or second ballot fix upon an individual, it was reasonably to be expected that the minority would be disposed to yield, and unite with the majority, so as to produce the effect contemplated by the foregoing resolution."

The report was vigorously opposed by a Mr. Allen of Massachusetts, also a member of the Committee on Rules, who asserted that the two-thirds rule was contrary to the fundamental principle of our Government, that we should be governed by the will of the majority. It was undemocratic, unrepud-lican, and directly "in the face and eyes" of the Constitution. The rule was defeated by a vote of 231 to 210. The reporter adds that the rule was brought forward for the purpose of keeping Mr. R. M. Johnson of Kentucky out of the Vice-Presidency, "many being willing to make no nomination rather than accept of him." The opposition to Mr. Johnson must have increased over night, for the next day a motion to reconsider prevailed and the rule was adopted.

It is of interest to note that the General Saunders, who in 1835 urged the two-thirds rule as a means of making Van Buren's nomination more imposing, and who disclaimed

any intention to frustrate the will of the majority, was the same General Saunders, who, "before prayers" in 1844, moved the adoption of the two-thirds rule for the purpose of defeating Mr. Van Buren and of thwarting the will of the majority.

VAN BUREN A VICTIM OF THE RULE

The objection to the two-thirds rule that it enables the minority to govern is strikingly illustrated in the history of the Baltimore convention of 1844. Van Buren, who was defeated for a second term in 1840 by General Garrison, was immediately recognized as the leading candidate for the Democratic nomination in 1844. State after State instructed for him until when the time came for the convention to meet he had a clear majority of all the delegates. In the meantime the question of the annexation of Texas had thrust itself to the front and some of the more urgent advocates of annexation, dissatisfied with Van Buren's cautious attitude on the subject, began to cast about for means of effecting his defeat. They found a number of the delegates from Pennsylvania and other States, who, although under instructions to vote for Van Buren, were personally opposed to him and were willing to defeat him if any plan could be devised for doing so without exposing them to the charge that they had disobeyed their instructions. The two-thirds rule supplied just the instrument they needed. Van Buren had ten votes less than the necessary two-thirds and they readily discovered that by imposing this rule upon the convention they could with safety carry out their instructions by voting for him, well knowing that with this rule in force he could not be nominated. "The conclusion is inevitable," says a critical student of this convention, "that they were willing that he should be sacrificed, but that they did not quite venture to appear with daggers in their own hands."

Of what now transpired, Benton gives the following account:

Two hundred and sixty-six delegates were present—South Carolina absent; and it was immediately seen that after all the packing and intriguing, the majority was still for Mr. Van Buren. It was seen that he would be nominated on the first ballot, if the majority was to govern. To prevent that a movement was necessary, and it was made. In the morning of the first day, before the verification of the authority of the delegates—before organization—before prayers—and with only a temporary chairman—a motion was made to adopt the two-thirds rule, that is to say, the rule which required a concurrence of two-thirds to effect a

nomination. That rule had been used in the two previous nominating conventions—not to thwart a majority but to strengthen it; the argument being that the result would be the same, the convention being nearly unanimous; that the two-thirds would be cumulative, and give weight to the nomination. The precedent was claimed though the reason had failed; and the effect might now be to defeat the majority instead of adding to its voice.

The rule was adopted by a vote of 148 to 118, and balloting began. There were 266 delegates present, of whom 134 were a majority, and 177 were two-thirds. On the first ballot Van Buren had 146, or twelve more than a majority and thirty-one less than two-thirds. After that he declined steadily until on the seventh ballot he had ninety-nine, to 123 for Lewis Cass, of Michigan. On the eighth ballot Polk appeared on the scene—the first "dark horse" in our history—and polled forty-four votes. On the next ballot, New York withdrew Van Buren's name and cast its entire vote for Polk. This action started a "stampede"—a scene many times repeated in national conventions since that day. Delegation after delegation changed its vote and when the result was made known, Polk, a man almost unknown to the country, who had only been spoken of a few times as a possible candidate for Vice-President on the ticket with Van Buren, was the nominee of the party.

Writing a dozen years later Benton said:

That convention is an era in our political history to be looked back upon as the starting point in a course of usurpation which has taken the choice of the President out of the hands of the people and vested it in the hands of a self-constituted and irresponsible assemblage. The wrong to Mr. Van Buren was personal and temporary, but the wrong to the people, and the injury to republican institutions and to our frame of government, was deep and abiding, and calls for the grave and correctional judgment of history. It was the first instance in which a body of men, unknown to the law and the Constitution, and many of them (as being members of Congress, or holding offices of honor or profit) constitutionally disqualified to serve even as electors, assumed to treat the American Presidency as their private property, to be disposed of at their will and pleasure; and, it may be added, for their own profit; for many of them demanded and received reward. It was the first instance of such a disposal of the Presidency—for these nominations are the election so far as the party is concerned; but not the last. It has become the rule since, and has been improved upon. The people have no more control over the selection of the man who is to be President than the subjects of a king have over the birth of the child who is to be their ruler.

It is not necessary for us to go all the way with Benton in this gloomy view. He was

undoubtedly influenced in it by the fact that Van Buren's defeat robbed him of whatever prospects he might have had as "heir apparent" at the end of Van Buren's second term. But the fact remains that the will of the people, as expressed by the instructions to a majority of the delegates, was ruthlessly disregarded and a man upon whom the voters had had no opportunity to pass was put forward as the party's choice for President. Certainly in that particular case the party voters had no more control over the selection of their candidate than "the subjects of a king have over the birth of the child who is to be their ruler."

While there has been no other majority candidate defeated for the Presidential nomination as a result of the two-thirds rule, it has greatly prolonged the balloting in many cases and immeasurably increased the bitterness of factional strife.¹ In 1860, for example, Stephen A. Douglas got a majority of the votes cast on the first ballot in the Charleston Convention, and had it not been for the two-thirds rule he would have been declared the nominee and the party might have escaped with only the small defection that had taken place before the balloting began. This would have done away with the other fifty-seven fruitless ballots taken at Charleston before the convention adjourned, cut off three or four days of bitter wrangling, and avoided the necessity of the adjourned sessions of the two factions at Richmond and Baltimore, with the further splits and the resulting weakening of the Democratic cause. It is possible that the election of Douglas might have followed and that the whole subsequent history of the country might have been changed.

Dr. Stanwood, in his "History of the Presidency," after reviewing the events of this most memorable convention, reaches the conclusion that "the two-thirds rule wrecked the convention."

WILL HISTORY REPEAT ITSELF?

In 1844 the Democratic Convention met in Baltimore. In 1912 it meets there again.

¹An interesting instance of the defeat of a majority candidate for Governor of Texas occurred in the Democratic convention that gathered in Austin in 1878. Governor Hubbard had a clear majority of the delegates but not the necessary two-thirds. After five days of voting, during which time it is said that over 800 ballots were taken, a compromise candidate was agreed upon in the person of Judge O. M. Roberts, of the Supreme Court. The fact that he proved to be one of the best governors the State has had cannot be offered as a justification of the method of his selection. The accident of birth sometimes furnishes a good sovereign, but that is no reason for advocating that system of selection. Roberts himself condemned the two-thirds rule which brought about his nomination and suggested as a substitute that the candidate be required to get a majority on three successive ballots.

In 1844, by use of the two-thirds rule, it defeated Van Buren, a majority candidate. We are led to inquire whether the same device may not produce a similar result in 1912? This is certainly a pertinent inquiry at this time, for by the last week of June, when the convention meets, conditions may easily shape themselves for just such a result.

Of the four active candidates in the field, Clark and Wilson seemed last month to be the favorites. Both had shown strength in various parts of the country and had secured a considerable number of instructed votes. Underwood as yet had developed no strength except in his home State and the near-by States of Georgia and Florida. Up to that time Harmon had shown little strength and had secured only a few scattering votes that cannot be counted for him if the unit rule is adopted. However, he may be expected to get the forty-eight votes of Ohio and will doubtless pick up some additional delegates before the convention meets. Three "favorite sons" have been put forward,—Governor Burke in North Dakota, Governor Marshall in Indiana, and Governor Baldwin in Connecticut, each with the votes of his own State. New York, though uninstructed, was ready to throw its great strength to Mayor Gaynor, should a favorable opportunity arise.

With such a multiplicity of candidates no one can predict what will happen. It is altogether possible, though not very probable, that Clark or Wilson will go to Baltimore with a clear majority of the delegates. But that either will have two-thirds of the delegates is beyond the realm of probability. If either of them should have a majority, but less than the necessary two-thirds, the situation of 1844 would be repeated, and in such a contingency it is not at all improbable that the outcome would be the same. That, however, would depend largely upon the ability of the leader to hold his own votes and to attract to his standard the uninstructed delegates and the delegates instructed for "favorite sons" and others hopelessly in the rear, who will be dropped early in the balloting. It would also depend to an extent upon the number of delegates instructed for him as second choice.

Now, with these facts in mind the outlook for Dr. Wilson is not as bright as his friends could wish it to be. In spite of the fact that he is the second choice of several delegations, including Kansas which is instructed for Speaker Clark and North Dakota which is instructed for Governor Burke, he will prob-

ably stand a chance to capture fewer of the uninstructed and the released delegates than any one of his three leading rivals.

This results from several causes, none of which is in the least discreditable to the New Jersey executive. In the first place he is not the type of man to attract the bosses who control the delegations from a number of the States. Imagine if you can such political bosses as Charles Murphy of New York, Tom Taggart of Indiana, Roger Sullivan of Illinois, and others of their kind, all masters of great blocks of convention votes, rallying their hosts and shouting themselves hoarse in behalf of the clean, clear-cut, independent scholar who has so recently driven men of their type from positions of power and influence in New Jersey.

Governor Wilson will suffer in the convention as a result of the fact that he was early recognized as the leading candidate. Each of his opponents recognized in Wilson the man that he would have to beat. As a result each of them was glad to see Wilson lose any given group of delegates regardless of who got them, for if Wilson could only be prevented from getting the necessary two-thirds his nomination on the first ballot would be prevented, a deadlock would ensue, and no man can foresee the outcome of a deadlock. So from the start it was the field against Wilson. It would have been the field against any other candidate who chanced to be in the lead, though doubtless Wilson's unpopularity with the bosses, for reasons already pointed out, made the field stronger in its opposition to him than it would have been to any other man. But this common desire to hold down the leader has given the appearance of a conspiracy to defeat Dr. Wilson, an appearance of which his friends have loudly complained. In each State the opposition to Wilson has centered on the man that seemed to have the best chance of getting the delegates from him. In the Southeastern States, for instance, it was Underwood versus Wilson; in Texas it was Harmon versus Wilson; while in Oklahoma, Kansas, Illinois, and Massachusetts it was Clark against Wilson.

But to return to the Baltimore convention. In what direction, let us ask, will the delegates chosen by these anti-Wilson combina-

tions turn when the man for whom they were instructed has been withdrawn from the contest? Will they go to Wilson or will they turn to one of the other candidates whose friends at home helped send the delegation to the national convention? Will the Underwood delegates from Georgia and Florida, when their first choice has been withdrawn, turn to Wilson, Underwood's chief rival in the struggle for the delegates, or will they throw their support to Clark or Harmon in gratitude for the help rendered in the State primaries? To the writer the answer seems fairly obvious. Dr. Wilson will certainly get some of these delegates, but much the larger part of them will pass to Clark or Harmon.

It is hardly likely that the two-thirds rule will prove so disastrous to any other candidate, for the reason that there will not be so much difficulty in switching the support of the minority candidates to the leader. But in any case this antiquated rule will rob the majority candidate, if there should be one, of the certainty of nomination to which he is clearly entitled, and will precipitate a deadlock whose outcome no man can foresee. At this writing it seems not improbable that Speaker Clark will have a clear majority on the first ballot. In that case he should have the nomination, for he, more nearly than any one else, would represent the choice of the Democratic voters, in so far as our present crude methods are capable of arriving at such a choice.

In conclusion, it may be added that the action of the Baltimore convention is of the very greatest importance to the Democratic party and to the country. Not for twenty years have Democratic chances of success been so good. Mr. Taft is out of harmony with a very large element in his party—the majority element, if the primary elections may be taken as a test—and hundreds of thousands of progressive Republicans will bolt the ticket, if he receives the party nomination, and support the Democratic nominee if he is a progressive man and can command the respect and confidence of the country. The search for such a man and the chances of nominating him when he is found will not be helped by the adoption of rules that tend only to bring about deadlocks and make the nomination a thing of barter and sale.



THE PEOPLE AND THE TRUSTS

EDITORIAL ANNOUNCEMENT

DURING the remaining months of this year the REVIEW OF REVIEWS will publish seven articles on "The People and the Trusts." We are confident that our readers will agree that the striking originality of conception and the freshness of treatment, no less than the importance of the subject, will justify this exception to the settled policy of the magazine.

No hesitation is felt in adding to the already voluminous literature of the problem. This literature by its very mass has tended to obscure the facts, rather than to reveal them. These articles will simplify rather than confuse, will furnish light rather than heat. The field is limited, the problem is attacked from different angles, and a constructive program which can be made effective is offered.

From the beginning the discussion will deal with human beings, rather than with blind forces. The real subject of the series might be stated as "How the Relations of Typical Individuals (and therefore of Society in General) with the Managers of 'Big Business' May be Improved." Each of these individuals is studied in turn, the facts are presented calmly and judicially, and a remedy for acknowledged injustice is offered. That this remedy is a panacea for all evils is not claimed, but it will do much in itself, and will surely prepare the way for a satisfactory solution.

The keynote of the series is the demand for PUBLICITY of the essential facts of organization and management of combinations of capital for two reasons:

(a) As a regulator and corrective. Knowledge crystallized into Public Opinion is one of the most powerful forces we have to-day. "A rat-hole into which a beam of light is thrown is thereafter useless as a rat-hole."

(b) As a means whereby the information necessary to pass laws, effective and at the same time just, may be obtained.

The titles of the articles follow:

I. BIG BUSINESS AND THE CITIZEN.

1. Monopoly is not a new development but rather a return to old conditions. The familiar charges against the would-be monopolists of the present day may be matched in the past. But there is a new sin, the Suppression of Information.

2. The Demand for Publicity is not an unwarranted interference with private business. Why this is true, what information is necessary, who will get it, and what shall be done with it are questions for the Citizen.

II. THE BORROWER.

Money is the life-blood of industry and upon its normal flow to every member the health of the organism depends. Frequent examination of the condition of the money-flow will enable us to discover whether any part is suffering. How the interests of the Customer of the most logical trust, Banking, will be affected by Publicity is carefully worked out.

III. THE LABORER.

Publicity of the costs of production will enable us to know whether Labor in general is receiving a fair share of the product compared with other factors. The introduction of systems of measuring efficiency will establish the relative efficiency of individual laborers and make justice in compensation possible.

IV. THE INVESTOR.

Caveat emptor—"Let the buyer beware"—was a workable rule in a simpler state of society. In our complicated industrial and commercial system the small investor can no

longer protect himself for lack of knowledge. The basic facts of every corporation offering its stock to the public must be made known. Only the government can save to the people the millions of dollars yearly paid to dishonest promoters.

V. THE MIDDLEMAN.

The nineteenth century solved the problem of cheap production. The twentieth must deal with cheaper exchange upon which the cost of living so largely depends. The gap between the price of potatoes in the field and in the kitchen is very large. Combination or coöperation have been suggested as remedies, but the power to combine may be abused unless agreements are made public. Then Public Opinion will take care of violations.

VI. THE CAPTAIN OF INDUSTRY.

The important services rendered the community by the successful manager of business are now generally recognized, but some of these men have grown to think themselves above the law. While justice must be done him, on the other hand he must refrain from acts of oppression. Publicity will aid to secure both these ends. Under such a system he will be protected from blackmail and delivered from suspicion, if he will deal fairly with his competitor and the public. His energies may then be devoted to his legitimate function, *i.e.*, producing goods at the lowest cost, by making the most advantageous combination of men and material.

This series had absorbed the attention of Robert Lanier, of the REVIEW OF REVIEWS staff, during the last six months of his life, though the idea was in his mind long before. He recognized the fact that one reason for the general vagueness of opinion was the unsatisfactory manner in which the question had been presented, and determined that the REVIEW OF REVIEWS should do its share to make the problem clear. He sought information and suggestion from scores of intelligent students, practical business men, and clear thinkers; he had made an unusually full collection of material bearing upon different sides of the problem, and the series had begun to take form. The gentlemen chosen to write the separate articles had responded so enthusiastically to the idea, and consultations had been so frequent, that we are able to present the series as originally planned.

BIG BUSINESS AND THE CITIZEN,—I

BY HOLLAND THOMPSON¹

(Assistant Professor of History, College of the City of New York)

THE trust problem looks so hopeless to the other individuals concerned? May we not simplify the subject, immense as it is and complicated as it seems, by elimination? May we not get rid of familiar factors, find what is new, and examine that?

No essay on competition can excite the same interest as a talk with a competitor. No discussion of monopoly is half so absorbing as an interview with a monopolist. In our desire to be profound we have succeeded in being either confused or silly.

Why must calm discussion of monopoly, the most human of forces, expressing as it does one of the fundamental facts of our natures, be dehumanized? For that matter "Trusts," that is to say, the driving power behind the combinations of capital, are not forces. They are folks first and forces afterward. Will it not throw light upon the whole matter to discuss these folks in their relation to the

¹ Robert Lanier (see REVIEW OF REVIEWS for May, page 552) had been working on this series for several months, and had accumulated a great quantity of material, which he had begun to arrange. This article was written very largely from his notes and from our many discussions of the whole subject.

that under the same circumstances individuals behave in much the same way.

The successful promotion of one monopoly—perhaps the most important to America,—hung upon a woman's change of mind.

The lady's name is withheld for the present, for reasons which will appear later. It is enough to say that she was rich, and influential, through family and social position. She had undisputed control of her fortune, and naturally her secretaries were swamped with schemes suggested for the investment of her funds.

One promoter presented a plan to secure a monopoly of a profitable field, which had long been divided between two trusts. These made up in forcefulness of action what they lacked in organization, and had been able to eliminate the independent trader and now the stronger seemed to be on the point of crushing the weaker.

The business problem hinged upon transportation. The company in control of freight rates was bound to win. As it happened, in spite of their monopoly, the two trusts in command of the field were doing business at a constantly increasing cost, and both had suffered some serious losses. The cost to the consumer was growing heavier, but so great was the demand for the goods, largely because they ministered to vanity, that a wide market was assured at any price.

The ingenious promoter, who had neglected his own profession for years while unsuccessfully seeking to interest capital in his plan, had worked out a scheme which would cut costs of transportation to the bone, and therefore the new company would be able to undersell the others to such an extent that an absolute monopoly would probably result. The original producers and the consuming public would both be forced to accept the trust's own terms.

The plan was simple—on paper—to simple the lady's advisers thought; but the promoter was persistent and some of them were won over. The question of terms came up. The promoter demanded the sole management, his compensation to be one-tenth of the net profits, and also the right to subscribe for one-eighth of all issues of stock. From this he would not budge. Negotiations fell through, and the disappointed promoter left to seek other backers.

Here the woman's whim entered. A speculating capitalist of Hebrew descent, with the gift of financial prophecy so strong in his race, painted for her a vivid picture of the possible

profits, as well as other advantages—if the scheme did work. The lady changed her mind, recalled the promoter, and the trust was launched.

Though not everything expected was gained, success followed, but trouble also arose. The promoter was a man of broad views, a visionary even. One of his reasons for demanding such a large share of the profits was his desire to devote it to certain religious and philanthropic purposes. His subordinates, however, responded less to his influence than to the spirit of the promotion, which was simply a combination of money and genius to exploit producer and consumer alike. The producers suffered most. Their story is in fact a tragedy.

Like so many pioneers in other fields, the promoter did not realize the profits he had anticipated. Charged with the responsibility for internal dissensions, he was deposed, and for a time imprisoned. He died a disappointed man and his philanthropic purposes were never realized.

All of this sounds modern. You have read such stories in the magazines and newspapers, but this contract was dated April 17, 1492.

The lady was Queen Isabella of Castile; the "field," the East India trade (see map); the capitalist, Luis of the Santangel family, the Rothschilds of the fifteenth century.

The two trusts which had controlled the field were the trading cities of Venice and Genoa, which were the terminals of the combined land and sea routes to the Indies.

The promoter was Christopher Columbus;¹ his religious purpose, the expulsion of the Turks.

The busy Citizen has somehow come to believe that the trust or monopoly is a modern invention. He thinks that it is a peculiar development of the last twenty or thirty years in the United States, though he has a vague idea that something of the sort has developed in Europe. Why else did a score of intelligent citizens to whom this story was told fail to identify it, though all of them had read history? Tell the story to your friends, and see if they can guess the answer.

Every step is typical of modern trust-hatching in the twentieth century. Ideas and capital meet, and struggle for the advantage. An agreement is reached and they combine against the public which has not

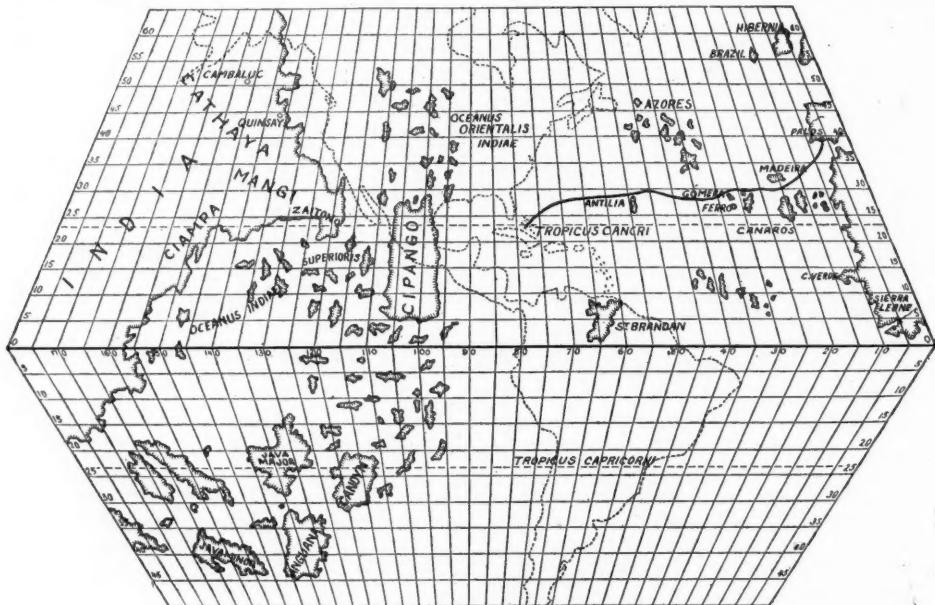
¹Popular histories fail to emphasize the business side of the discovery of America. These statements above can be verified by reference to Las Casas, Harrisse, Winsor, Fiske, etc. Prescott gives a vivid account of the cruelties toward the natives. The interpretation only is new.

been consulted at all. This story of Columbus suggests that some features of trust practice are at least four hundred years old. Other instances will be given later.

Any mixed group of citizens, in the village store, in the smoking car, at the club, or the golf links, will agree that the trust is something new, but they will disagree on every other aspect of the problem. Some feel that they are a natural evolution, necessary and laudable; some, though resentful, are resigned; others would restrain, control, dis-

a trust, nor can they draw the dividing line between legitimate business and unlawful practices. Of course, there are extremes, manifestly lawful, or the contrary, but all agree that between lies a "twilight zone,"—to adapt William J. Bryan's phrase to other conditions,—which is dim and mysterious.

In the attempts to enforce the Sherman law, more than one hundred actions have been brought. Many of them have reached the Supreme Court and decisions have been handed down.* In its decisions in the Stand-



WHAT COLUMBUS SOUGHT AND WHAT HE FOUND

(This map of Toscanelli [1474] was used by Columbus as a sailing chart. His aim was the northern part of Cipango [Japan], but he believed that the distance as represented by Toscanelli was too great, and hence, after sailing more than 2500 miles, he turned southward to avoid missing the island altogether. The dotted map of the Americas is in its proper position. As will be seen Toscanelli, though his calculation of the circumference of the earth was almost exactly correct, extended Asia to cover the whole Pacific Ocean)

solve or even destroy these Frankenstein's monsters of the twentieth century, but all make the same assumption of novelty.

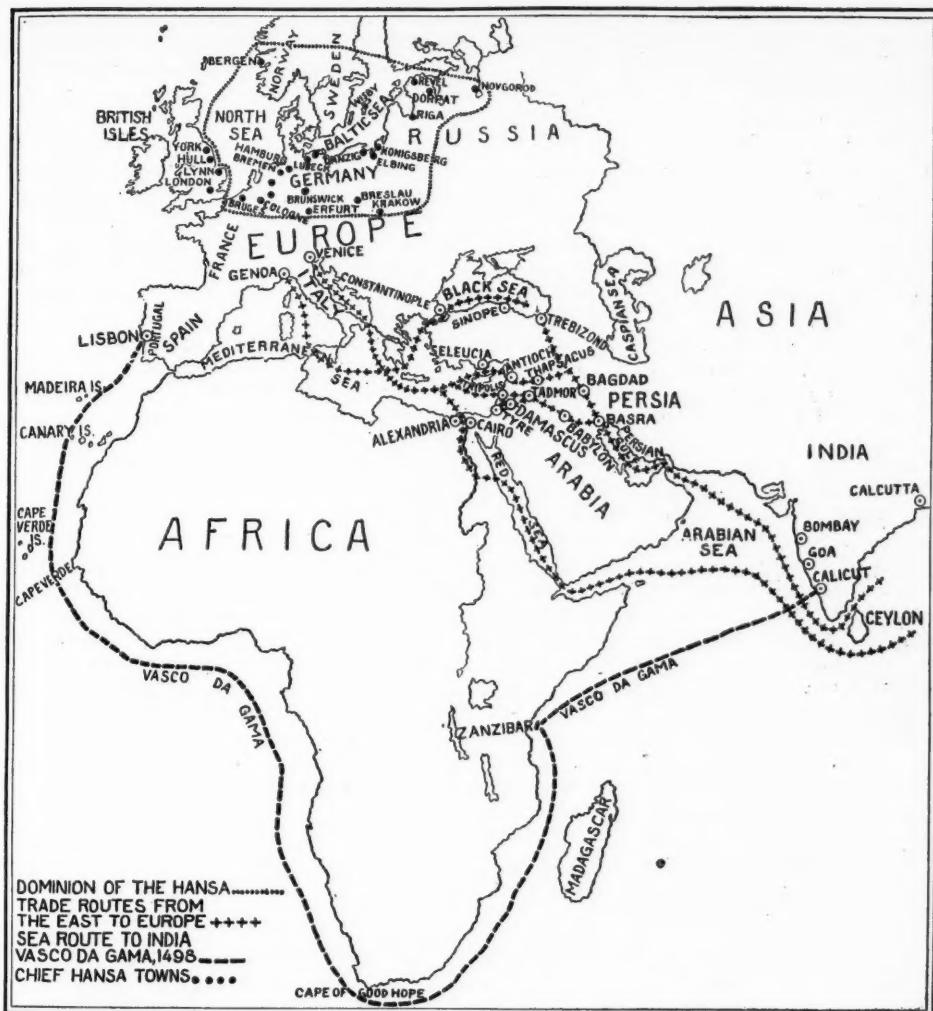
We are told that there is in existence a "secret conspiracy" involving a concentration in a few hands of all the country's industries and even of all the very life blood of industry—banking. The charge has interested the House of Representatives and the Committee on Banking and Currency has been instructed to investigate the "Money Trust"—a power so well concealed that neither its officers nor its address is known to the public.

All speak glibly of trusts, and yet, strange to say, few persons can agree on a definition of

ard Oil and the American Tobacco cases that tribunal has, so we are told, modified its earlier position by the insertion of the word "reasonable" into the statute, and with what result?

Chairman E. H. Gary of the United States Steel Corporation, who believes firmly in the economic and moral justification of combinations of competing units, and who certainly cannot be said to be lacking astute counselors in matters legal, said some time ago:

I know it is very easy to say the law is simple and clear and the corporation now knows exactly what to do, but I do not agree with the statement. I know that it is not the fact. I know that we have been in a position of great uncertainty during the last few years, and particularly during the last few



THE MONOPOLISTS OF THE PAST

(The Hansa sphere of influence is indicated at the top of the map. The three great mediaeval trade routes to the East led from the Mediterranean, the first by way of Constantinople and the Black Sea to Trebizond, thence southward by land and water to the Persian Gulf. The second led through Syria to join the first as shown by the map. The third passed through Alexandria and reached the Red Sea. An occasional caravan reached Novgorod in the days of its glory, and, for a time, an all-land route passed north of the Caspian Sea. The capture of Constantinople by the Turks in 1453 closed the northern route, the second was closed in 1478, and Alexandria was threatened. Some other way to India was a necessity. The route of Vasco da Gama opened the way after Columbus failed. This was followed until the Suez Canal was dug.)

months. We have been very much troubled to know just exactly what our position ought to be, what our conduct ought to be, and as a result there has been created in this country a feeling of great uncertainty and doubt. . . . These men would like to know what they can do; what they have the right to do; what they have the right to do from the standpoint of observance of the laws, and from the standpoint of public sentiment, which is just as important to consider; and they would not only like to know that for their present action, but they would like to know it for their future action.

There is not a more determined opponent of monopoly and monopolistic practices in the country than Senator Cummins. An able lawyer and a persevering student of economic questions, he approved the following statement: ". . . these decisions have rendered the law so uncertain and vague in its application to the actual affairs of business that men cannot safely proceed with the affairs they have in hand—safely proceed in

the sense that they do not know whether they are about to do a lawful thing or an unlawful thing."

The Senate Committee on Interstate Commerce has been holding sessions for months. Before it have appeared merchants, wholesale and retail, manufacturers, bankers, lawyers, professors of economics, officers of labor unions, farmers, railroad men, and simple citizens. In other words, producers, distributors and consumers. All of these have been allowed to express their views unhindered, and then have been questioned by the able members of the Committee representing every phase of political thought current to-day.

Into the record have been inserted decisions of the ablest judges in the history of the common law, thoughtful studies of present-day conditions, plans for paternalistic regulation of capitalization, prices and profits, well-considered plans for correcting admitted abuses, vigorous suggestions of confiscation of "ill-gotten gains" and violent demands for the punishment of "malefactors of great wealth." Representatives of every school of thought have had full opportunity to express themselves at length, thanks to the patience and forbearance of the committee.

The two fat volumes of testimony already published make interesting reading. Every citizen who takes his political responsibilities seriously will be fascinated by their pages but will lay them down with disappointment. The ablest students, the cleverest thinkers cannot come to any common conclusion. They agree that trusts exist, but they cannot say what makes a trust; they agree that there are, and have been, evils, but they cannot come together on methods of correction, and in fact, in that "twilight zone" of which we spoke above, they cannot decide whether or not a particular course is evil.

To some the efficiency and the economy possible to large aggregations of capital seem so important that they are willing to overlook the probable, even inevitable wrongs. To others the interest of the petty competitor, with his little shop (though his establishment may be economically inefficient), is so important that they are willing to forego the undoubtedly advantages of production on a large scale, and would try to maintain the weakling by the strong arm of the law. Some would recognize existing and future combinations but would regulate them, even though such action might mean in the end fixing prices by governmental action, not only of the finished product, but of the raw material, and of labor itself,—

in other words, a return to the regulated monopoly of the Middle Ages.

If the doctors disagree what hope have the "common people" of coming to a clear decision? Their food for thought comes chiefly from the popular orators of the day who represent, generally, only one phase of the whole problem. They dwell upon the wrongs and compare the admitted evils of "big business" with those of monarchy or of slavery. They preach revolution or revolt, and some of them would have us recognize in them twentieth century Washingtons or John Browns with divine commissions to set us free.

*Why not compare monopoly with itself?
Why not study the trusts of to-day in the light
of the trusts of yesterday?*

Step by step the problem will grow simpler. One by one those features of trust practice which we have thought so new will be seen to be old, and they will grow less important as we see how our fathers met and dealt with them. A series of interesting parallels will result. We shall find that competition was the uncommon, and monopoly the usual condition of business in the past.

Trusts will be found from Hudson Bay to the Bay of Bengal, from the Baltic to the Gulf of Mexico. One trust ruled India and controlled the destinies of millions of people; another made the Baltic an inland sea, making treaties and dethroning monarchs as need arose. Another financed the crusaders who captured Constantinople and set up a Latin kingdom there; another, the London branch of the Virginia Company, first planted permanent English settlements in the new world. These were international monopolies. Of the lesser national or sectional monopolies there were many. Every gild organized in the Middle Ages included some features which we would call monopolistic, while kings bestowed upon individuals the sole right to sell various luxuries or necessities, which right was sold or leased to the merchant or the producer.

The story of Joseph in Egypt is one of the prettiest examples of cornering the food supply and exacting a monopoly price therefor of which we have record. We are told in Genesis that the Egyptians gave in exchange for bread their money, their cattle, and finally, their liberty and their land, which they afterward worked as tenants or serfs of their royal master. Aristotle tells us that an Athenian citizen once cornered the iron market in Syracuse.

Solomon as a monopolist surpasses any of

our modern trust magnates. We know that he levied heavier toll on the caravans passing over his roads than the most grasping transportation manager of the nineteenth century ever dared to do. We are told in the Book of Kings that he brought linen yarn out of Egypt, which his men of business sold at a fixed price. He imported war horses from the same country and sold them at a high price to the princes and warriors of the whole region. He sent out trading ships which brought back immense quantities of gold, so that "Solomon exceeded all the kings of the earth for riches."

In every case the aim was the same: to get the business, to monopolize it, and the consuming public paid. Practically every feature of modern monopoly to which objection is made is another version of an old story told long ago. The methods in the past were much the same as those pursued to-day, except that they were more vigorous. The little finger of the ancient monopolist was thicker than the loins of his degenerate successor.

Let us go over these characteristics one by one to see if we can find the new sin.

The Greatest Trust in the World's History

Is there anything new about the bigness of business as such—the power of enterprise privately controlled?

The company which finally got the monopoly which Columbus sought became the most powerful trust in the world's history.

This company, "The Governor and Company of Merchants Trading in the East Indies," received its charter from Queen Elizabeth on the last day of December, 1600, and was not finally dissolved until 1874. This charter besides granting the exclusive right to trade in all regions beyond the Cape of Good Hope, "not already possessed by some Christian prince," gave the right to "acquire territory, coin money, command fortresses and troops, form alliances, make war and peace, and exercise both civil and criminal jurisdiction." Truly this was a broad grant. Standard Oil and Steel must "hide their diminished heads."

In addition it was exempted from export duties for four years, and, if necessary, the payment of import duties might be delayed until after the goods were sold. The only restriction was that the consent of the crown must be given to every voyage. The reason for this limitation was probably to preserve the right to call for ships if another Spanish Armada should approach the coasts. The royal navy was then insignificant.

In organization, the company was really a syndicate with a concession for the Indian trade, and from the members special joint stock companies were organized for every voyage. Later the syndicate became a joint stock company with a capital stock which traded on the account of all.

The explanation given for seeking the charter was simple. The price of pepper had been raised from three shillings to eight shillings the pound by the Dutch traders who had broken by force of arms the previously existing Portuguese monopoly which had followed Vasco da Gama's discovery of the sea route to India. This Portuguese monopoly had been conducted at royal risk and profit, because the Portuguese merchants refused to take the risks. "Golden Goa," the story of which reads like a misplaced page from the Arabian Nights, had at first afforded enormous profits, which, however, were largely absorbed by dishonest officials.

Ostensibly for the purpose of cheapening the price of spices—does not this sound modern?—the charter was asked. It was granted and so this old leviathan of trusts was born. The profits of the first voyages averaged more than one hundred per cent., the fourth and fifth taken together 234 per cent. Other voyages were not so successful, but the profits were large enough to invite competition, both of "interlopers" and of companies organized for the purpose. The interlopers were dealt with in a summary manner. Both ships and cargoes were confiscated. The competing companies were absorbed, in one case after a struggle which convulsed British politics.

In 1682 a dividend in cash of 50 per cent. was paid, and at the same time a stock dividend of 100 per cent. was declared. The next year, after the inflation, a £100 share sold for £500, apparently the highest price on record, though this price was approached in 1720. Between 1657 and 1691 the average rate of dividends was 25 per cent. So great a proportion of the capital of the country was engaged in the Indian trade that in 1684 the company was accused of "alone devouring half the trade of the nation." Can even the "Money Trust" be charged with such power to-day?

At first the only territory controlled was the concessions for trading purposes for which rent was paid to the native princes, but in 1689 it was decided to enter upon a course of territorial aggrandizement. Most of us have been accustomed to think of those great proconsuls, Robert Clive and Warren Hastings as engaged in building up the British Empire.

This is true only ultimately, for they were employees of the East India Company, and while they were setting up or pulling down nabobs, confiscating treasure, or fighting battles, they were primarily extending the power and the dominion of the company. To be sure the British Government, in 1773, and again in 1784, asserted its power to regulate and control, but the company nominated the officials until 1858.

In 1813 the monopoly of the Indian trade was abolished, though the monopoly of the trade with China was continued. In 1833 even this was taken away, though the company still governed the country until 1858, when, as a result of the Sepoy mutiny, the British Government assumed full control. The government, however, guaranteed the dividends on the stock, and not until 1874 was it all retired at 100 per cent. premium.

Here then is, in brief outline, the story of a monopoly which from the India House in Leadenhall Street governed millions of Asiatics and waged bloody wars, not only with the natives, but with the French and the Dutch. It bribed officials of the government, had dozens of self-confessed representatives in Parliament and spent thousands of pounds in subsidizing the press. In fact, the responsibility for the widespread corruption in English politics in the eighteenth century is laid at its door. Its history for the first hundred years is set down in Sir William Wilson Hunter's "History of British India," a work unfortunately unfinished, but the fragment is a book which no student of economic or political problems can afford to neglect.

The American citizen has to contend with no such organization as this, and yet when it had done its work, its power, on the demand of the British Government, dropped from it as a cloak. The King of England is Emperor of India, but the East India Company no longer exists.

Another Great Trading Trust

For protection against pirates in the Baltic, and for the common welfare, the traders in a number of German cities very early formed loose associations. Out of them appeared, already full grown, early in the fourteenth century, the Hanseatic League. At the height of its power, it "had three good crowns at its disposal"; it set up a rival and successful king in Sweden; it twice captured Copenhagen and drove Waldemar III., of Denmark, from his kingdom in 1368. Later,

in 1523, it was instrumental in dethroning Christian II., it enabled Gustavus Vasa to become ruler of Sweden, and once its armies ravaged the English coast. The Baltic became a Hanseatic lake into which no other flag might enter without the permission of the Hansa, a permission rarely granted. Though never rebelling openly against the Emperor, the League treated his demands with cold courtesy, and went its own way.

First and last perhaps ninety cities belonged to the League, though the exact number is uncertain, as the membership varied at different times. Some of the cities were expelled for disobedience to the rules of the League, and others were unable to pay their assessments. Lübeck was always the leader, though Hamburg and Cologne were hardly less important. In the cities the trading classes were always dominant, and they grew in wealth and power.

At London, Novgorod, Bergen, and Wisby, the Hanseatic community was a state within a state, in which the laws of England, Russia, Norway or Sweden did not run. At Novgorod, the cloth of England and France was exchanged for furs, metals, honey and wax, always to the profit of the Hanseatic trader. At Bergen they exchanged manufactures of various sorts for fish.

Nowhere was the power of the League greater than in London, where a district known as the Steelyard on the water's edge, just above London Bridge, was the home of the Hanseatics. They bought the wool, hides, grain, beer and cheese of the English, selling them in return flax, linen, hemp, fish, wax and wine, as well as Oriental products with which they had provided themselves at Bruges, or even at Novgorod, where their traders had met an occasional caravan which had made its way entirely across Asia.

The English people objected vigorously to the favors showered upon the Hanseatics by their rulers, at first to no purpose. They were useful to the kings and useful also to the community, for they brought to their warehouses those needed goods which the confusion of the times and the backwardness of English workmen rendered unattainable otherwise. Not until the English were able to do themselves what the Hansa was doing for them, could they drive it away.

Bruges first, and later Antwerp, were the great clearing houses. Here the League did not demand the special privileges it had extorted in the cities just mentioned, but its grasp upon the entire commerce of Northern Europe was not loosened until internal dis-

sions and a growing lack of enterprise weakened the union. With the increasing growth of national feeling in the states with which they dealt, their power to monopolize grew less. Under Elizabeth they were expelled from London in 1598. The pupils had learned how to trade from their German teachers; and then they dismissed the teachers. The Thirty Years' War completed the destruction.

The League had done its work. It had carried certain aspects of civilization to millions of barbarians. Through it the Baltic lands had advanced in wealth and intelligence. The merchant in the city had increased in self-respect and the power of the robber baron had been held in check. Our judgment on the results of its work will be much the same as on our present-day monopolies. It was done selfishly, and often roughly, but much of it was really constructive.

From the description of these two monopolies, the Individual will see that the mere size of a combination is nothing new. There are others, such as the Italian City Republics, which might be named, but the two instances given above are enough to show that there existed in the past proportionately greater combinations of capital, with greater powers, exercised in a more ruthless way, than can be found to-day.

Is Close Connection Between Business and Politics New?

No charge against the trust of the present day is made with more indignation than this, and yet attention has been called to the political activities of the East India Company. In the Hanseatic League the governing power in every town was almost invariably the merchants and every regulation was made with their advantage in view.

Another instance no less striking is the connection of Venice with the Fourth Crusade. The Venetians had agreed to transport the Crusaders to the Holy Land for 85,000 marks, but the soldiers arrived with only 51,000 marks, all that could be raised. The Doge informed them that the remaining 34,000 marks would be excused if they would take Zara for the Venetians. This done, the Crusaders were induced to capture Constantinople where they established in 1204 a Latin kingdom. The Venetians secured a monopoly of the Eastern trade coming by the Black Sea route (see map) which they held until the Latin kingdom fell in 1261.

No campaign contribution of the present

day compares with the million pounds which the East India Company furnished the government at low interest, in 1742, in return for a fourteen-year extension of its charter. Imagine, if you can, the Standard Oil Company, to prevent its dissolution, furnishing perhaps fifteen million dollars to the administration to finish the Panama Canal.

Go back four centuries farther. It seems incredible, but it is true, nevertheless, that Crécy and Poitiers were won with trust money. Edward III, a chronic borrower, had financed his earlier campaigns in the Hundred Years' War by borrowing from the Florentine bankers. His default ruined them, and no one else would extend credit. The Hanseatic League came to the rescue, loaned the needy king £30,000, worth probably more than two and a quarter million dollars to-day, and received many favors in return.

Evidently monopoly and government have been closely allied in the past.

Is Harshness Toward Producers of the Raw Material New?

Read the early history of Spanish America and find the answer. If another instance is needed, study the attitude of the Hanseatic League toward its Russian or Norwegian producers, or go to the history of all the East India Companies, Portuguese, English, Dutch or French, especially the Dutch.

Is Brutality Toward Competitors Characteristic of the Present Day?

Again go to the East India Companies. Confiscation of ship and cargo was the slightest penalty inflicted upon the intruders. Reduction to slavery was common, and torture and murder were not infrequent. Turn to the Hansa again and find a similar course of action. The competitors of a modern trust at least escape with their lives.

Coming down to later times, the story of the Hudson's Bay Company, that great fur-trading company, chartered in 1670 is interesting. The free-trader, caught trespassing on the company's territories, and then set free in the wilderness without food, boat, gun or compass, is an example of the lengths to which commercial rivalry led men even in the nineteenth century. The contest with the Northwest Fur Company was marked by deeds of which savages would hardly be proud. "If forgotten graves could give up their secrets, they could tell many a tale of violence and of treachery."

Evidently courtesy to competitors was not universal in the days of old.

Surely Artificial Limitation of Supply to Increase the Price is a Modern Invention

The Dutch knew two hundred years ago that often an inadequate supply would bring in larger returns than a superfluity, a lesson our Southern cotton farmers have had impressed upon them time after time, but which they obstinately or short-sightedly refuse to heed. So we find the Dutch traders uprooting the spice trees on the Molucca Islands, and even burning a large proportion of the product to keep it from the market. The diamond monopoly of London and South Africa has learned no new tricks. The old ones knew them all.

The Inside Ring which Takes Advantage of Official Position is Surely New

The spectacle of men, directors and officials of a corporation,—trustees for the stockholders, in fact—using their positions and the knowledge gained thereby for private gain has been often seen. The investigation of the American Tobacco Company showed to what extent this could be carried. Surely this is new. Again go back to the declining degenerate days of the Hansa, and case after case of similar conduct is revealed. Turn to the East India Companies. We are told that the royal monopolist's ship went back to Portugal half empty, but that those loaded by his officers in India returned full. The British company evidently did not expect its servants to live upon their salaries in the early days. When it found, however, that dozens of them were able to retire with enormous fortunes after a few years of service, while the returns to the company grew slowly or did not grow at all, strenuous efforts to stop the leaks were made, for a long time with slight success.

This practice is evidently not new.

To be sure these monopolies were generally mercantile and not manufacturing—monopolies of sale and not monopolies of production. The reason is plain. Before the days of machinery there was no production on a large scale, but this fact does not affect the soundness of the argument. That some of these monopolies were granted by royal favor is likewise immaterial. *Everything which could*

be monopolized was monopolized at some time or other in the world's history.

We find then that practically every feature of the problem of monopoly to-day has appeared before. There have been monopolies of enormous size, proportionately larger than anything we have to-day. Sinister alliance with, or influence upon, government officials was common. The monopolists wilfully limited the supply, behaved with brutality toward the producer of goods and toward would-be competitors, and officials took advantage of their trusteeship for private gain. These are the most common charges against modern trusts and their managers.

What Then Is New?

There is, however, in the practice of "big business" to-day, a new sin which is fundamental. True, it is not yet recognized as a sin, but it should be and must be declared a crime. The sin is not an inheritance from the monopolies of a remote past, but has grown out of that fierce individualism so characteristic of American life. It has been fostered and developed by that unrestricted, savagely competitive struggle for supremacy which has been such a striking feature of our industrial history.

This practice, which seemed natural and logical in a simpler social and industrial organization of society, has been permitted to continue, though its effects to-day are wholly bad when viewed in the large. What, then, is this policy which has become improper and even wicked with the industrial development of the United States?

The New Sin is the Suppression of Information Which the People Have the Right to Know

Our country and our times are not those of our ancestors, and changed conditions have brought different standards in their train. To-day many acts, once grave crimes, are considered harmless or even praiseworthy. On the other hand, law and public opinion now condemn many practices formerly ignored. Secrecy, not so long ago, an inalienable right, has become the new sin in business. Why this is true, and what a recognition of this fact means to the individual will be discussed in the second half of this article, to appear next month.

LORADO TAFT AND HIS WORK AS A SCULPTOR

BY ROBERT H. MOULTON



LORADO TAFT

THERE is a man in Chicago who has been called the greatest artistic educative personality in the Central West to-day; who is credited with having done more to inspire a knowledge of art and a love for the beautiful in sculpture and painting than any other man of his age in America. His name is Lorado Taft, and his work is in clay and marble. He is an artist whose sole purpose is to model ideal conceptions—to create beautiful or significant sculptures. Also, he is an idealist in the sense that he places the joy of creative effort above fame and fortune. While he has reached that place where he might have commissions for all he could do, it is interesting to note that he frequently plans and executes a work without the slightest suggestion of an order, simply because the idea dominates

him and demands to be put in some imperishable form.

Mr. Taft is a sculptor of power and genius who has worked faithfully at his art for many crowded and busy years. He has produced in that time groups and single figures which have made him recognized as one of the foremost of contemporary sculptors, and when he has not been chiseling soul into marble or molding it into clay, he has been lecturing on his own art and on art in general.

Mr. Taft's first important commission was for two groups at the entrance to the Horticultural Building of the World's Columbian Exposition. These, "The Sleep of the Flow-



"BLACK HAWK"

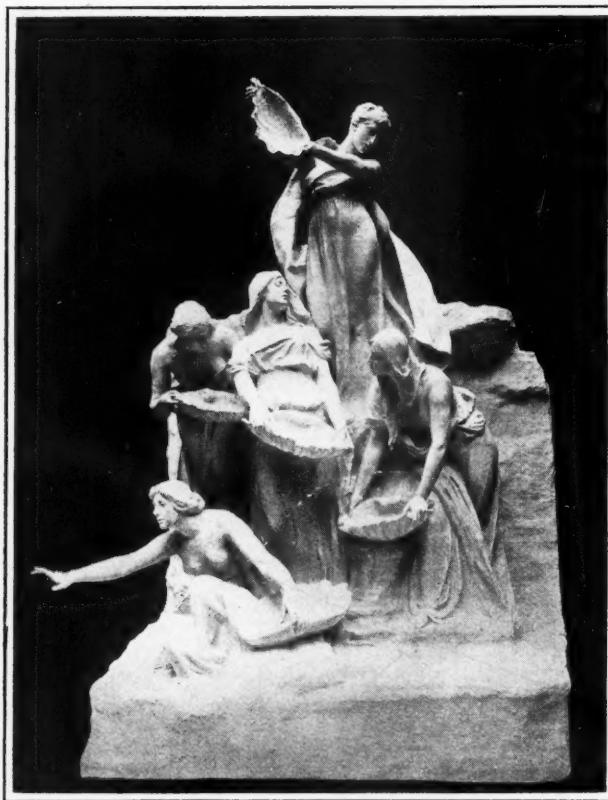
(Mr. Taft's famous concrete statue of the Indian chief overlooking the Rock River in Illinois)

ers," and the "Awakening of the Flowers," however, is "The Blind." His inspiration for this work was found in Maeterlinck's drama of the same name.

Two analogous groups, "The Mountain" and "The Prairie," made for the Louisiana Purchase Exposition at St. Louis, formed his most conspicuous work in the next decade, though "The Solitude of the Soul," exhibited at the same exposition, won him a gold medal. Its importance and suggestiveness to thinking minds is indicated by the fact that it has been made the subject of numerous poems.

His next important work was the fountain group, "The Great Lakes," which has been purchased by the city of Chicago and will stand in front of the Art Institute. In this work Mr. Taft offers a unique national symbol. It represents the Five Great Lakes, typified by beautiful female figures, joined in composition by a sparkling line of water. The descending stream is started by high-standing Superior, then caught in turn by Michigan, Huron, Erie, and Ontario, the latter, with outstretched arm, finally directing the flood onward to the sea.

Best known of all Mr. Taft's sculptures,



"THE GREAT LAKES"

In speaking of this work Mr. Taft says: "The play made a wonderful and lasting impression upon me. After I had read it, my mind dwelt constantly on the symbolism expressed in the tragedy—the great longing of all humanity for light in life. Then in my dreams the group shaped itself and refused to vanish. The profound truth underlying the drama urged me on. . . . It was a most absorbing creation. I felt the deepest emotion while modeling the faces of the blind. The pathos of helpless endeavor in the posture of the figures, the hands reaching upward into empty air, appealed to the sympathies of my assistants as well as myself."

Of late years Mr. Taft has shown a disposition to turn to sculptures heroic both in spirit and in substance. He has a vigor and sweep of execution as heartening as the breezes from the Western plateau. He is a man of big conceptions and ideas and he works them out with affluence of labor and material.

"BLACK HAWK" IN CONCRETE

In one of his most recent creations, the statue of Black Hawk, commemorating the American Indian, we find abundant proof of his leaning toward massive figures. This statue, which was unveiled last July, is of noble proportions, being fifty feet high, and stands on the



"THE BLIND,"—BEST KNOWN OF MR. TAFT'S SCULPTURES

highest point of a lofty promontory overlooking the picturesque Rock River near Oregon, Illinois.

Behind the building of the Black Hawk statue lies an interesting little story. Several years ago Mr. Taft was watching some workmen build a reinforced concrete chimney at the Chicago Art Institute, when there came to him his great idea of the means for making an enduring statue. With the process in mind it was not long before an adequate subject presented itself. For fifteen years he has had his summer home and studio at Eagle's Nest Camp, the summer seat of the Chicago art colony. Standing for the hundredth time at the highest point of the cliff, he never failed to remember that it was from here that Black Hawk was finally driven out of Illinois. So he decided to bring back the famous Indian chief, and now in concrete he again surveys his former domain.

This statue is, in more senses than one, the biggest thing that Mr. Taft has yet done—big enough to place him right up in front

among our most famous American sculptors, living and dead. The statue is immensely simple, the heavy folds of the blanket surrounding the figure suggesting the man's body without following closely its outlines. The dignity, the stoicism, and the bitterness of a vanquished race are there, and the great figure, gazing across the river, is a fit memorial of a race that has passed from power.

This work was a labor of love with the sculptor, his gift to the people of Illinois. He not only created it, but paid almost the entire expense of its construction—a proof of gracious patriotism which few artists are willing or able to offer to the people they serve.

THE COLUMBUS MEMORIAL AT WASHINGTON

Mr. Taft's latest work and the one which will, perhaps, be seen by the greatest number of people, he has just completed after two years of modeling. It is the sculptures for the Columbus Memorial at Washington,

which is now nearing completion and which, it is expected, will be ready for dedication this month. The memorial consists of a semi-circular fountain, seventy feet wide and sixty-five feet deep, adorned with a great statue of Columbus and other appropriate sculptures. It will stand on the plaza in front of the Union Station at Washington, and has been designed to harmonize in its architectural and artistic treatment with the station and its environments.

No more fortunate or appropriate site for the memorial could possibly have been selected. Situated at the gateway of the nation's capital, it will be the first and the last thing to greet the eyes of the millions of visitors who annually journey there. And it seems altogether fitting that this monument to the discoverer of a new world should stand in the capital of its greatest country.

The plan for erecting the memorial was started under the auspices of the Knights of Columbus several years ago, when contribu-

tions were selected from the various councils of that order throughout the United States. The responses were so immediate and hearty that the success of the project was practically assured from the first and later made secure by an appropriation of \$100,000 from Congress.



THE SPIRIT OF DISCOVERY

(One of the Columbus Memorial figures)



THE COLUMBUS MEMORIAL FOUNTAIN AT WASHINGTON, TO BE DEDICATED ON JUNE 8

The work was intrusted to a commission consisting of the chairmen of the Senate and House committees on the Library, the Secretary of State, the Secretary of War, and the Supreme Knight of the order of the Knights of Columbus. That commission selected the Union Station plaza as the site for the memorial and adopted the design submitted by Daniel H. Burnham, architect of the Union Station and member of the National Commission of Fine Arts, with the sculptural features by Mr. Taft. The entire fountain is to be constructed of Georgia marble.

The principal feature of the rear of the fountain is a stone shaft about forty-five feet high, surmounted by a globe of the world. It forms the background of a statue of Columbus, who is represented as standing on the prow of a vessel, with arms folded in an attitude of meditation. It was Mr. Taft's purpose here to make us feel the apotheosized Columbus, and while the statue is severely plain, the sculptor has imparted to the figure a grandiose dignity by throwing about it a great cloak after the fashion of the discoverer's day.

Just below the statue of Columbus is the figurehead of a ship, a beautiful female figure of ample form and dignity, typifying "The Spirit of Discovery." The great basin of the fountain with its abundant flow of water will be immediately beneath this figure.

On either side of the stone shaft are massive figures portraying the sculptor's ideas of the New and Old Worlds. The "New World" is represented by the figure of an American Indian reaching over his shoulder for an arrow from his quiver. The "Old World" is represented by the figure of a patriarchal Caucasian of heroic mold and thoughtful mien.

The globe at the top of the shaft is intended to suggest the influence of Columbus on the growth of popular knowledge of the shape of the earth. It is supported by four American eagles, which stand at the corners of the top of the shaft with wings partially extended. The rear of the shaft carries a medallion representing Ferdinand and Isabella of Spain, and the group of figures is completed by two enormous lions which occupy the ends of the balustrade running from the center to the sides of the fountain.

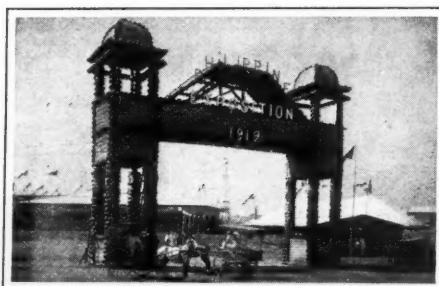


"THE OLD WORLD"



"THE NEW WORLD"

THE FIRST PHILIPPINE EXPOSITION AND WHAT IT ACCOMPLISHED



THE COCONUT ARCH AT THE PHILIPPINE EXPOSITION

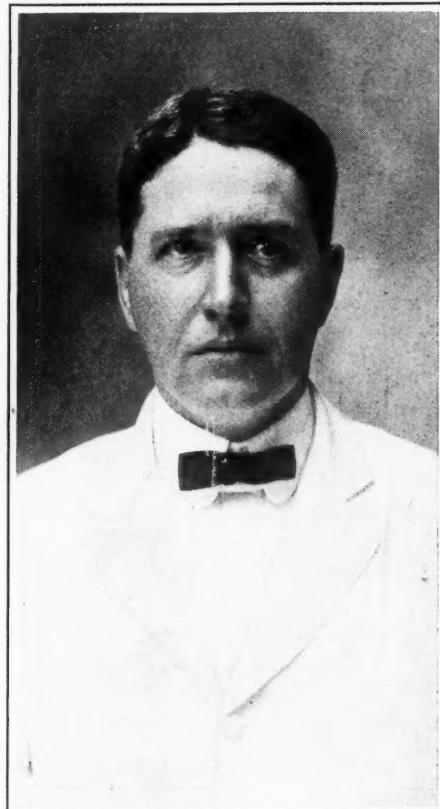
AN epoch in American colonial history was marked by the opening of the first Philippine Exposition, held in its own grounds and buildings on the outskirts of Manila, during the first weeks of the present year. The progress made by the islands under American guidance in all the arts of peace were shown by native processes and products.

The exposition, under the general presidency of the Hon. C. E. Elliott, Secretary of Commerce and Police of the Islands, was the medium through which the four chief Philippine agricultural products, hemp, sugar, cocoanut, and tobacco, were exploited. Under the management and through the hard work of Mr. W. W. Barclay, the Director General, the exposition indicated what the native Filipinos can and will do under American direction, education, and encouragement. Even the buildings were of native material, chiefly sualie and woven bamboo. More than 100,000 pesos' worth of handiwork by the pupils of the public schools, made under the direction of American teachers, and more than 50,000 pesos' worth of goods from the provincial exhibits were sold during exposition week.

Some new decorative effects in color of native woods and vegetable products marked the buildings, and their beauty was noted by Western visitors. It would be difficult to describe to those not familiar with the tropical East the color effects produced by the combination of the cream tints of the hemp fiber, the pale green of the sugar cane, the gray of the cocoanut and the dark brown of the tobacco, particularly when used as coverings for the pillars and other structural work of the buildings.

The chief exhibits were from the Pangasinan and Morro provinces. Pangasinan is known as the granary of the Philippines, and its wheat exhibit was remarkable. Among the industries from this province were represented the famous Calasiao hat. Morro Province exhibit won many first prizes, chiefly for rubber, hemp, corn and tobacco. This province also sent samples of coffee, pronounced by experts to be equal in flavor to any in the world. Peanuts, tapioca, beans, and barley were shown in brilliant profusion. From a number of separate localities native brasswork was exhibited, and much admired, as was also pottery products from Lanao.

The exposition, which was a surprise even to many of the Manilans themselves, ap-

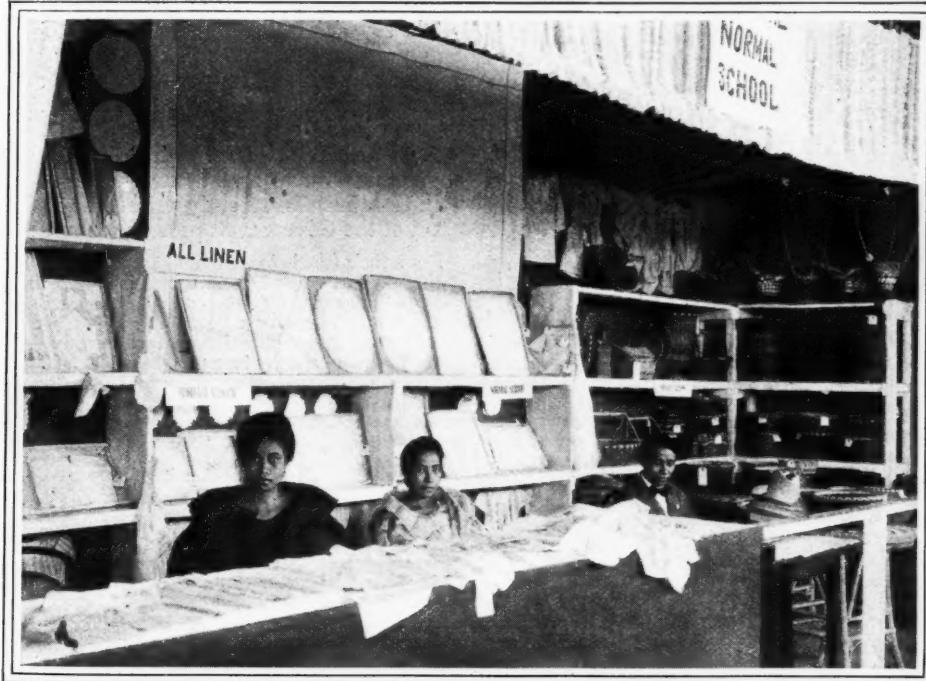


THE DIRECTOR GENERAL OF THE FIRST PHILIPPINE EXPOSITION, THE HON. W. W. BARCLAY



"PROSPERITY ROW" AT THE EXPOSITION, SHOWING THE PROVINCIAL BOOTHS AT EACH SIDE

parently justified itself. It seems probable that the easy success of this exhibition will encourage and stand as a model for the work- ing out of the Filipino native section at the coming Panama-Pacific Exposition at San Francisco, to mark the opening of the canal.



THE DISPLAY OF NATIVE FILIPINO MADE FABRICS, ONE OF THE RESULTS ATTESTING AMERICAN EDUCATIONAL INFLUENCE

RESULTS OF THE STANDARD OIL DECISION

BY FRANK B. KELLOGG

(Special counsel for the United States in the Standard Oil cases)

THERE is much discussion in the public press as to what has been accomplished by the decree in the Standard Oil case. In my opinion that decree accomplished everything that it is possible to accomplish under the Sherman Act. The law does not authorize the court to confiscate the property of combinations or trusts (except property in transit); it authorizes an injunction to restrain violations of the act. The decree in this case enjoined the violation of the act; it dissolved the Standard Oil holding company and separated the subsidiary corporations. It went further, it prohibited the individual defendants, the corporations, their officers and agents from continuing or carrying into further effect the combination adjudged illegal, and from entering into or performing any like combinations or conspiracy the effect of which would be to restrain commerce in petroleum and its products.

The injunction also prohibited the defendant corporations until the discontinuance of the operation of the illegal combination, from engaging or continuing in commerce among the States or in the Territories of the United States. It also enjoined them from making any express or implied arrangements together, or with one another, like that enjoined, relative to the future control and management of any of the defendant corporations. The result is that not only was the combination condemned and declared illegal, but the defendant companies, some thirty-seven in number, which were thus dissevered, were prohibited from making any express or implied agreement relative to the control of the several companies as one harmonious whole. The decree went further than any decree has ever gone in any court, under the Sherman Act.

WHAT WAS THE STANDARD OIL COMPANY?

The Standard Oil combination consisted of one holding company, holding the stocks of and controlling the thirty-seven corporations

engaged in all branches of the oil business in all parts of the country. The testimony showed that this vast aggregation of corporations dominated the oil business, dictated terms to its competitors, and, in many instances, actually crushed them out and drove them from the business. It also had vast influence over the railroads, receiving rebates and other preferences in transportation, which its competitors did not enjoy. These unfair methods of competition and preferences were exposed in this case, and during the prosecution and since the decree the independent oil manufacturers have had free and open opportunity to engage in business and have prospered, without being clubbed to death by inordinate capital.

UNFAIR PRACTICES DISCONTINUED

The severing of the Standard Oil combination prevents it from acting as one great aggregation with all its powers to raise and lower prices, to control the oil industry, and to crush out its competitors.

A gentleman interested with the independent manufacturers and thoroughly familiar with their business recently writing me of the effect of the Government prosecution said:

From their (the independents') standpoint, comparing present conditions in the oil business with the conditions of 1904 and 1905 when the activity of the Government first began in the matter of investigating and publication, there is no doubt but what the independent interests have been aided and bettered by what the Government has done. The rigor of monopolistic control and abuses certainly has been broken by the proceedings of the Government through all its departments, but especially through the dissolution suit.

I think I can safely say that the piratical methods heretofore employed by the then monopoly have almost entirely disappeared, such as the acquiring of information concerning competitive shipments now forbidden by federal statute and by the statutes of many States, the employment of bogus companies, the cutting of prices below cost for the purpose of driving out competition, securing the countermanding of orders acquired by competitors, misrepresentation of goods, and in fact nearly the whole category of unfair methods set out in the Government's suit have disappeared from the arena of competition.

THE GOVERNMENT'S POWER ASSERTED

Another thing which has been accomplished is that the Government has demonstrated that it is bigger than any corporation and can legally control aggregations of capital organized under State authority. In my opinion it is not and should not be the desire of the American people to destroy any industry, but to control it; not to destroy capital, but to regulate it, for large aggregations of capital are necessary to many branches of business. But wealth is one of the greatest powers known in the world. It should be controlled so that it will not be used to the injury of the people. The highest development of civilization will be attained by keeping open to individual enterprise the great avenues of commerce and industry so that every man, with reasonable capital, ability, and industry, may safely embark in some branches of industry with the hope of being something more than the employee of a corporation.

FEDERAL AUTHORITY ESTABLISHED BY THE COURT

I do not contend that the machinery of the courts is adequate for the regulation of large corporations any more than that the machinery of the courts is adequate to control the banking facilities and railroads of the country. It is no part of the duty of courts to lay down rules for the future management of corporations and business; that is the duty of the legislature. The court acts upon the condition presented. Especially is it true that the criminal laws are totally inadequate and inappropriate for such regulation.

The decree of the court was necessary to establish the power of Congress and the power of any regulative body like a commission which Congress might establish. This battle had to be fought first because these corporations, entrenched behind State charters, claimed immunity from federal control. It would have been idle to legislate further upon this subject until the power to do so and to enforce legislation was clearly sustained by the Supreme Court, as it has been done. I have often said that Congress should now, in the light of these decisions, establish a commission something like the Interstate Commerce Commission and license corporations and large aggregations of capital under strict supervision and control.

I am aware that the control of the forces of industry and of capital is a very delicate and difficult task; and it has agitated and divided

the sentiment of peoples since the dawn of civilization, on the one hand to preserve the independence and freedom of enterprise necessary to the growth and development of commerce, and on the other to repress those selfish desires for wealth and aggrandizement which in all times have animated man.

WHY STANDARD OIL STOCKS WENT UP

It is complained in the public journals that since the decree of dissolution the value of the stocks of the Standard Oil subsidiary companies has vastly increased upon the market, and some people assume that the cause of this is some defect in the Government decree. As a matter of fact nothing is further from the truth. The reason for such increase is perfectly plain to those familiar with the Standard Oil organization.

Prior to the Government prosecution the Standard Oil Company was a close corporation. It never published any statement of its assets and business even to its stockholders. All the public knew was that the Standard Oil Company stock (the holding company) paid a dividend of about 40 per cent. per annum, and its market value was regulated by those dividends. Its earnings were double this sum, but only a few insiders knew that fact. With less than one hundred millions of capital stock it had, in 1906, \$261,061,811 surplus, and since that time, for five years, it has been piling up more surplus at the rate of probably forty million dollars per annum, so that its total assets at the time of the dissolution undoubtedly amounted, on the books of the company, to over \$600,000,000. What the real value was beyond the book value, no one knows to this day. Until the dissolution, in December, 1911, the stocks of the thirty-seven subsidiary corporations had never been sold on the market. They were in the treasury of the Standard Oil Company of New Jersey, the holding company.

ASSETS AND EARNINGS DISCLOSED BY THE GOVERNMENT

The Government, in the course of the trial, for the first time disclosed the large assets and earnings of these various companies, collectively and individually. But the reports of the trial were not, of course, generally distributed, and only gradually did the facts filter through the minds of the investing public. Moreover, so long as the suit was pending the stocks of the parent company naturally sold for much less in the market by reason of the un-

certainty as to the outcome of the suit. When the Standard Oil Company was dissolved and these subsidiary corporations stood upon their own foundations, and as their stocks began to be dealt in upon the market, gradually the amount of their assets became known and the stocks increased enormously in value.

A FEW CONSPICUOUS INSTANCES

For instance, take the Standard Oil Company of Indiana. When the Government instituted the suit all that was known about the Standard Oil Company of Indiana was that it had a million dollars of capital. The Government showed that in 1906 this company had \$24,373,937 of net assets, all, except the one million dollars, made out of the business of the company in addition to its dividends declared, and was then earning at the rate of over \$10,000,000 per annum. Is there any wonder that, when this company's stock came upon the market and the public gradually became aware of the enormous amount of its assets and earnings, it increased in value? This was the most conspicuous instance of increase; but there were many others.

Take another instance. The Southern Pipe Line Company is a comparatively small company, formerly with \$5,000,000 of capital stock, since increased to \$10,000,000. Its rate of profit from pipe-line business on its net assets in that business ranged from 102.1 to 278.1 per cent. per annum. During the seven years from 1899 to 1905, inclusive, vast sums were charged on the books as having been paid out to a trusted employee of the company. The Government discovered two balance sheets—one in regular form, showing the true earnings ranging from three to four millions annually, and the other showing each year enormous payments to this employee, the aggregate being \$22,131,160, and leaving very small apparent profits, or even losses. Extraordinary efforts were made by the Government to prove what became of this money.

The Government placed upon the stand the comptroller and two directors of the Southern Pipe Line Company, also the employee in question, the comptroller of the Standard Oil Company of New York, and others. None could or did explain what became of this enormous sum.

Take another case. The Continental Oil Company, with \$300,000 of capital stock had, in 1906, assets of \$1,301,515, and profits for that one year of \$575,044. Its stock is now selling on the market at about \$900 per share. The Solar Refining Company, with a

capital stock of \$500,000 had, in 1906, assets of \$3,708,899, and earnings of \$1,258,519. Its stock is now selling at about \$700 per share. The South Penn Oil Company had, in 1906, \$2,500,000 in capital; its assets amounted to \$14,915,185. Its stock is now selling at about \$690 per share.

These assets were those shown on the books at the close of business for the year 1906. To them must be added the surplus earnings for the years from 1907 to 1911, the time of the dissolution, which were large, and we therefore have assets far beyond anything ever dreamed of by the public. No corporation ever existed in this country with such earning capacity or such secrecy in its business. To be sure, these figures were in the record in the Standard Oil case as early as 1907, but the public did not know it and certainly did not appreciate the enormous value of the assets in the treasuries of these subsidiary companies.

FEDERAL INCORPORATION AND LICENSE

The fault is that the Government never has had adequate supervision or control over large aggregations of capital with the proper publicity which follows such control. What Congress should now provide for is a voluntary system of federal incorporation and a compulsory system of federal license of large corporations engaged in interstate business. Such a license could be issued upon condition that the corporation comply with the terms and conditions of the act of Congress providing therefor; and the first and most essential of these conditions would be proper publicity of the business and affairs of such corporations. This would work for the benefit of the stockholders as well as the general public.

It is sufficient here to say that such a license law should make clear just what corporations shall be permitted to engage in interstate commerce and under what conditions. When licensed, so long as they comply with the terms of the license and the acts of Congress, they should be protected in their right to do business so that there may be security and certainty in the right to engage in commerce. The law should also provide that, if such corporations engage in unfair methods of competition for the purpose of obtaining a monopoly, their charter or license shall be forfeited. The object, of course, should be to regulate and prevent the abuses of large aggregations of capital, keeping open the opportunity for all men fairly and with equal right to engage in commerce.

LEADING ARTICLES OF THE MONTH

THE LABOR PROBLEM IN THE BRITISH MAGAZINES

THE difficulties and lessons presented by the great coal strike in England, and its settlement by the adoption of the minimum wage law, are the subjects of a number of solid articles in recent and current numbers of the British monthlies and quarterlies.

A long analysis of the situation is contributed to the *Quarterly Review* by Sir Arthur B. Markham. In complimenting those mine owners who at once expressed their willingness to coöperate with the government in effecting a settlement of the strike, this writer does not spare the minority of the operators, particularly in England.

As to the merits of the dispute, it is only fair to say that, generally speaking, the majority of owners, where abnormal places have been met with in the mines, have treated their men fairly; but a considerable minority have not done so. This same minority have, during all the recent negotiations, adopted an irreconcilable attitude toward every proposal to improve the conditions of the men. I cannot too strongly press the point that the responsibility for the strike in the English area rests mainly on the owners of this class. They have persistently refused to pay men a fair day's wage for a fair day's work; and it is not to be wondered at that the men at last revolted against this unfair treatment. Though the relations between the English employers and their men have as a rule been fairly satisfactory during recent years, on the other hand there has been much unrest in mining districts owing to the reduction of earnings by the Eight Hours bill, the refusal of some owners to meet the admitted grievance of men working in abnormal places, bad management of mines, increased cost of living, and the rise in house-rents.

Referring to the increased price of coal to the consumer consequent upon the settlement of the strike which effected a general rise in the miner's wages, Sir Arthur Markham insists that out of "Two shillings rise, nine pence only goes to the men, and one and three to the masters." J. Keir Hardie, the labor leader, has some very sober comments on the lessons in the strike in *Nash's Magazine*. He predicts that the next "big strike will be not only national, but international." He recognizes that it is becoming "increasingly true that the strike for improvement

in industrial conditions will not solve the social problem."

The experience of the strike of late has shown conclusively the imperative need for the workers to control Parliament, which is a very different matter from waiting upon it. The action of the strike can at most be only ameliorative; it never can be revolutionary. That belongs to the sphere of politics. A strike can secure the adoption of the principle of a minimum wage, but only Parliament can nationalize the mines, or the railways, or other



Westminster Gazette*

A BURNING QUESTION
MRS. BULL: "How long do you think it will last, John?"

industrial undertakings. And so political action is revolutionary whereas direct action is but palliative. The strike can be used to supplement, but not to supplant political action. Before the working-class can be free they must control the state, and the strike, apart from its educational value, does nothing to secure control of the state. With forces of "law and order," civil and military, under their control, the master class boss the show. They have the press, the policeman, the soldier, the judicial bench, and the Senate as their servants. And all this because, despite a popular franchise, they are still the ruling class. Parliament is therefore the citadel upon which the forces of democracy must concentrate their attack. A general strike against Liberalism and Toryism is the need of the hour. Every general rise in wages leads to a rise in rent. The political strike is the only form of strike which is all gain and no loss. The strike, espe-

cially on a national scale, is a double-edged weapon, to be used only occasionally, and then with care, whereas the vote can be used all the time, and is guaranteed to injure only the enemy.

The Labor Movement and Missions

Discussing the labor movement in its entirety, particularly in its world bearings, Bishop Gore, writing in the *International Review of Missions*, says:

The labor movement makes throughout Europe a great claim for justice. And in spite of the faults and exaggerations which attend upon the movement, it ought in its broad lines to enlist the sympathy and coöperation of all who call themselves Christians. The Bible shows an extraordinary care for the worker. The believer in the Bible will hold that the first charge upon any industry is the proper payment of the laborer. The inspired prophets of God denounce the divine judgments upon all those who "grind the faces of the poor," that is to say, who use sweated or inadequately remunerated labor to accomplish their own enrichment. It ought to cause the Christian churches the gravest anxiety to find that they have been, on the whole, so indifferent to the claims of labor: on the whole so much more anxious to defend the rights of property than to protect the poor; so much more ready, at the best, to comfort the fallen and bind up the wounded in the industrial struggle than to assert their rightful claims against the tyranny or injustice of the strong. It is indeed sometimes said that our Lord had His eyes fixed upon the spiritual interests of the Kingdom of God and paid no attention to social or political conditions. But it has to be remembered that He had behind Him the Old Testament, and that He identified Himself with its message. . . . It is something much more than sympathy which this movement, or pair of movements, can claim of Christians. If "the powers that be," the actual forces which sway mankind, "are ordained of God," then as surely as the Roman Empire and the British Empire, so surely the democratic movement and the nationalist movement are ordained of God. It is our coöperation as Christians that they should claim, and our great contribution as Christians should ultimately be the demonstration that it is only through the faith in Christ that either movement can realize itself.

Profit-Sharing and Labor Copartnership

A summary of recent progress in profit-sharing and labor copartnership appears in the *Contemporary Review*. The writer, Theodore Cooke Taylor, M.P., dilates upon the advantage of good-will between the employer and his "hands." We quote his words here:

We move in a mischievous circle; war breeds war, strikes and lock-outs breed enmity and poverty; poverty and enmity breed strikes and lock-outs again. Is this vicious see-saw never to cease? In theory we all condemn it; no sane thinker defends it. Industrial war, like international war, settles no question of right and wrong. It only proves which side for the time being is financially

the stronger. In addition to the money cost of the struggle, the winning side loses the good-will of the other side. In the balance-sheets of many trading companies, among the assets large sums are set down for what is called "good-will." The meaning is that the company's relations with its customers are so good that it can make more profit than otherwise it could. There is another kind of good-will, however, namely, good-will between a company and its employees. Such good-will has both moral and money value. It would be a novelty to find good-will between employer and employed assessed at a cash figure in a balance-sheet, but there is as much reason for a figure of that kind as there is for the ordinary money valuation of good-will between seller and buyer.

Besides the great moral, mental and physical value that profit-sharing and copartnership would have for the workmen, the results, says this writer, upon the business man's life are worth much sacrifice to secure.

It greatly increases his pleasure in his business. He has a new zest in his work. He has the great satisfaction of helping to raise financially and morally the very men who are helping him to make his own living. He finds his finest opportunity for social usefulness in his daily work. He may or may not have time for outside work, but he realizes that his business is well worthy of his best service. In short, the system dignifies and raises the character of business life. Frankly, that is the employer's greatest gain because it is beyond money value.

Germany's Lesson to England

Britain, a novice at many social reform laws, can learn much from Germany, according to Mr. William Harbutt Dawson, writing in the *Contemporary*, "thanks to the humanizing influence of this legislation [German insurance and poor relief], the poor are not only treated more liberally than before, but they are no longer reminded by invidious, time-dishonored disabilities that the victims of sickness, misfortune and distress are regarded as citizens of an inferior grade." Investigations recently made by the German government into the workings of the insurance laws of the empire were regarded as very profitable. Dr. R. Freund, of Berlin, who collated the data and statistics, is quoted by Mr. Dawson as saying:

Although the insurance laws have been in operation far too short a time to allow of their influence on the Poor Law being fully felt; although the prevalence of unfavorable economic conditions during recent years has shown this influence in a disadvantageous light; and although the Poor Law Unions, for the most part, have not observed the effects of the laws with the necessary care, a powerful influence can already be observed. The Poor Boards have been relieved of a considerable proportion of the cases of relief, so that the insurance laws do now, to a large extent, protect the working classes from the necessity of claiming poor relief.

POLITICS IN THE MAGAZINES

IN the *Atlantic Monthly* for June, Mr. Francis E. Leupp, a veteran Washington correspondent and biographer of ex-President Roosevelt, contributes a study of "Roosevelt the Politician." Mr. Leupp puts Colonel Roosevelt's strong qualities as a politician in this order: his picturesque personality; his indifference to precedent or consistency for its own sake; his audacity. His chief faults in politics, Mr. Leupp thinks, are three: impatience of the interval between desire and accomplishment; failure to appreciate the persistence of a moral ideal as distinguished from a wise or expedient purpose, and over-confidence in the disposition of the popular mind to consider fine distinctions in passing on a broad issue.

As to Roosevelt's personality, Mr. Leupp has this to say:

Everything in his physiognomy, his manner, his speech, his gestures, bears witness to the energy stored up in him, for which must be made some outlet or other. This will explain why he is always doing something out of the common. To glide along with the general human stream would call none of his inner forces into play. What they crave is the stimulus of opposition, the need of buffeting against adverse influences. For that reason we find him a conservative by descent, but a radical by choice; an aristocrat by birth, but a democrat by voluntary association; a puny lad in pinafores, but an athlete at maturity; a scholar by training, but a worker by impulse; a warrior at home, but a peacemaker abroad; a reformer among politicians, and a politician among reformers.

How the Big Split Came

In the June *McClure's*, Samuel G. Blythe, a newspaper correspondent and political writer, has a fanciful story of "The Political Revolution in America," in which he records the remarkable development of the campaign of 1912, in the form of a complete realignment of parties in accordance with which all the progressive Republicans and the progressive Democrats go into one camp and the conservative Republicans and the conservative Democrats into another. In the race for the Presidency the conservatists of the two parties are led by President Taft and Governor Harmon, while the progressives follow the standard of Roosevelt and Wilson.

The Massachusetts Primaries

Believing that the discussion of the preferential primary, with its relation to the political boss, is equally applicable to every part of the nation, Mr. Frank A. Munsey reproduces

in the June number of his magazine an address that he made to the voters of Massachusetts through his Boston newspaper, the *Journal*, just before the primary election in April. Commenting on the result in Massachusetts, by which Roosevelt practically won a tie vote with Taft, Mr. Munsey declares that but for the preferential primary Mr. Roosevelt would not have had a delegate in the whole State. The vote of the State would have been absolutely machine controlled. Whatever delegates Mr. Roosevelt has, he owes wholly to the preferential primary. In view of all the facts, the conservatism of New England and the closely knit financial system which has much voice in New England politics, Mr. Munsey suggests that when compared, in effect, with the overwhelming vote that Mr. Roosevelt received in Illinois, where conditions were with him, it may well be that the Massachusetts result is even a greater triumph.

The Kind of Democrat Champ Clark Is

One of the surprises of this unusual campaign has been the strong development of Speaker Clark's candidacy in the primaries. As to the Speaker's position in relation to the issues of the campaign and the leading tenets of his party, there has been exhibited, not so much a difference of opinion as a positive lack of information in many parts of the country. It is, doubtless, with a view to supplying this lack that the *Outlook*, in its issue for May 11, presented an authorized interview with the Speaker by John E. Lathrop. In this interview Mr. Clark formulates as the two principal issues of the campaign the tariff and the cognate question of the trusts. When asked to classify himself among the several schools of economic thought on the tariff, the Speaker replied: "I am for a tariff for revenue only; or as close an approximation thereto as the circumstances permit." "How rapidly should the schedules be reduced, and how?" he was asked. "The Democratic party favors a gradual reduction of the tariff," he replied.

When asked whether, in his opinion, the business men of the country have anything to fear in the event of Democratic victory in the election, Mr. Clark replied: "It is a thing incredible that any sane men should desire to injure any legitimate business. What we contend for is that every legitimate business and every citizen have equal opportunity,

and that laws be passed that will enable no few to be the beneficiaries of the toil and sweat and lives of the thousands."

Other issues outlined by the Speaker were these:

That of transportation, reform of the financial system, final determination of who shall control the potential power in the waters of navigable streams, preservation of our natural resources (what there is left of them), the getting of all election machinery close to the people, preventing corrupt use of money in politics, reforestation, improvement of the rivers and harbors, automatic compensation to workingmen. These are all questions of deep interest and vital importance. But I cannot understand how they are to be solved first until the tariff and the trusts are disposed of—hence I am for tackling the tariff and trusts, and doing it just as fast as we can, compatibly with

sound business judgment and the evolution of remedial measures.

Such is the Speaker's own confession of his political faith. In the arguments circulated by the Clark Campaign Committee special emphasis is laid upon the fact that the candidate is a "dependable Democrat" who voted for Bryan three times and for every Democratic candidate since he became of age, and that his record is "straightforward and Democratic." This leads Ray Stannard Baker to remark, in the *American Magazine* for June, that "in whatever particulars the old-fashioned Democratic creed is still progressive—for example, in the matter of tariff reduction—Clark is truly a Progressive," but farther than this he does not go.

THE RIGHTS OF PATENT OWNERS

THE United States Supreme Court evoked considerable criticism—some say "unreasoning criticism"—for its decision of March 11, 1911, in the case of *Henry vs. A. B. Dick Company*. Although well-informed lawyers claim that the decision merely "confirmed the law as it was already clearly understood," the fact is undeniable that hostile comment of the Supreme Court's action has been widespread, and that the refusal (April 8, 1912) of the Court to grant a rehearing has stimulated to a great extent the agitation for new Federal legislation modifying the grant made to patentees under the law. In the *Engineering Magazine* for May there appears a digest of the case by Mr. Gilbert H. Montague of the New York Bar, in the course of which are set forth with admirable clearness the rights that belong to patent owners and the rights of users of patented articles. With regard to the Supreme Court decision which has given rise to so much comment Mr. Montague goes so far as to say that "since the creation of the patent system . . . and the adoption, in 1790, of the first patent law by the first American Congress, no better considered decision affecting patent rights has ever been rendered in this country." The facts out of which the decision arose were as follows:

The Dick Company owned patents covering a mimeograph. It sold to a certain Miss Skou a mimeograph, embodying the invention covered by these patents, subject, however, to a license, printed and attached to the machine and reading as follows:

LICENSE RESTRICTION

This machine is sold by the A. B. Dick Company with the license restriction that it may be used only with the stencil

paper, ink and other supplies made by A. B. Dick Company, Chicago, U. S. A.

The Henry firm sold to Miss Skou some ink suitable for use upon this machine, with knowledge of this license restriction under which Miss Skou had bought the machine, and with the expectation that the ink would be used with this mimeograph. The question presented to the Court was:

"Did the acts of the Henry firm constitute contributory infringement of the Dick Company's patents?"

The Supreme Court decided that these acts constituted contributory infringement.

The opinion was written by Justice Lurton, and with him concurred Justices Holmes, Van Devanter, and McKenna. Chief Justice White dissented from the decision, and with him concurred Justices Hughes and Lamar. The dissenting opinion declares that the decision tends "to extend the patent so as to cause it to embrace things which it does not include," and permits the owner "to extend his patent rights so as to bring within the claim of his patent interests which are not embraced therein, thus virtually legislating by causing the patent laws to cover subjects to which without the exercise of the right of contract they could not reach." Commenting on the dissenting opinion, Mr. Montague remarks:

The all-important circumstance which Chief Justice White overlooks is that no license restriction is enforceable, under the law as laid down by the Supreme Court, unless the restriction is "*brought home to the person acquiring the article, at the time the article is acquired*." To make a license restriction enforceable, "the purchaser must have notice that he buys with only a qualified right of use." The notion, engendered by Chief Justice White's dissenting opinion, that Henry would have been held as an infringer if Miss Skou, or any other user of the Dick mimeograph, had bought Henry's ink at a

corner drug store, has absolutely no foundation in fact. The infringement in the Dick case, the Supreme Court expressly held, consisted in the fact that Henry, knowing of the license restriction, and with the expectation and intention that his ink would be used for the purpose of violating this license restriction, incited Miss Skou, intentionally and deliberately, to violate the license restriction—to which Miss Skou, as Henry well knew, had expressly assented when she acquired the mimeograph—and supplied Miss Skou with the means of accomplishing this wrongful act. Indeed, the court below expressly found that Henry deliberately and knowingly instigated Miss Skou to this wrongful act, and even instructed her that if she would pour Henry's ink into Dick's can and throw away Henry's can, she would not be caught violating the license restriction.

In regard to the rights of the patent owner Mr. Montague points out that Section 4884 of the Revised Statutes provides that a patent owner shall have "the exclusive right to make, use and vend the invention or discovery."

This "exclusive right" is in effect three "exclusive rights," i. e., the "exclusive right" to make, the "exclusive right" to use, and the "exclusive right" to sell the patented article.

The patent owner may, according as he sees fit, dispose of one, or more, or any part of these component "exclusive rights." Thus, when he elects to manufacture the patented article himself, he reserves to himself the "exclusive right" to make, and disposes simply of all or part of the "exclusive rights" to use and to sell the patented article. Again, if he elects not to sell the patented article, but simply to lease it on a royalty basis, he reserves to himself the "exclusive rights" to make and to sell, and disposes simply of the right of use. Similarly, if he elects to dispose of only part of the "exclusive right" to use the patented article, he may reserve to himself the "exclusive rights" to make and to sell the patented article, and part of the "exclusive right" of use, and may dispose of simply a portion of his "exclusive right" of use, by granting merely a limited right of use,—simply, for instance, the right to use the patented article only under such conditions and only with such supplies as the patent owner shall prescribe.

Like the owner of unimproved real estate, the patent owner may decline to use his invention, or to allow others to use it.

In one respect the patent owner is not so favorably circumstanced as the owners of other kinds of property; for whereas the latter may exercise their rights as long as they may desire, the patent owner may do so for the statutory period of seventeen years only, and at the expiration of that period he must relinquish to the public all of his rights. It must be remembered, too, that

the public is free to take or refuse the patented article on the terms imposed. If the terms are too onerous, the public loses nothing, for it may decline to buy or use the patented article; and when the patent expires the public will be free to use the invention without compensation or restriction.

Mr. Montague holds that "in affirming these propositions the Supreme Court stated plain, common business sense, and also long-settled principles of law, in reliance upon which enormous business interests have been established."

The Opposing View

Mr. Seth K. Humphrey, in the *Atlantic Monthly*, referring to that part of the Supreme Court's decision affirming the right of a patent owner to control the supply of materials to be used with his machine, considers the added prerogative in the light of the proverbial "last straw" falling upon an already intolerable situation. The public, he says, rises to inquire, "What is back of these grants so freely handed over to inventors?" He continues:

The object of our patent system, as stated in the Constitution, is "to promote the progress of Science and Useful Arts." That is, in order to get inventions for public use, the patent laws were made for the encouragement of inventors. The community's interest in new discoveries is, theoretically, the prime consideration; the reward to the inventor is no more than a just and agreeable means to attain the desired end.

But our patent law, as it has come finally to be construed, is singularly oblivious of the public. It devotes itself exclusively to the patentee. It does not reward the inventor and take over the invention; it awards him the invention itself for a period of seventeen years, and makes no demand upon him to administer it for the public good, or, indeed to administer it at all. Instance any patented improvement: suppose manufacturers engaged in the particular line adopt the device in their machinery or process, in their desire to market a more perfect article,—the one attainment which really interests the public. The law interferes. But it does not say to the manufacturers, "You must pay a reasonable tribute to the inventor before you may make this improved device"; it says, "You must stop making the device." And there it rests. In proclaiming a new and useful invention by publishing the patent, the government merely informs us of one more thing which we may not use. It leaves the public at the inventor's doorstep, expectant, but unassured of admittance. . . .

It is as plain as daylight that the patent system encourages invention, but inventions are without value to the community except as they are set to work "to promote the progress of Science and Useful Arts." We need to be reminded that for this end the patent laws were devised. We are so accustomed to regard the encouragement of invention as the complete function of the patent laws, and are so impressed by the bulky output, that only on special occasion, when one of our supposedly beneficial creations "shows its teeth," does it occur to us to ask, "Where do we come in?"

Mr. Humphrey believes that the present patent laws "have outlived the conditions that made them necessary," and proposes that we get away from ancient traditions and con-

struct a patent system adapted to the present day. Here is his plan:

The inventor wants compensation for his discovery; give him compensation,—not the discovery. The community wants the discovery; although the plain teaching of our patent law makes it heresy to say so, the community is entitled to it. Both ends can be attained at once by making the discovery public, in fact, as well as in letters-patent, to all who may wish to make use of it, with the single obligation that they shall pay to the inventor legally determined royalties during the life of his patent.

Under our present system, the most fortunate inventors are those who succeed in establishing their patents on a royalty basis. The law might as well bring this opportunity to every inventor, with the added advantage to him and to the community that, instead of being restricted to one licensee, both would do business with an entire industry. The royalties, carefully graded to provide just com-

pensation, would be paid to the inventors, and a penalty for not doing so would enforce this reasonable exaction. New inventions, at once engaging the attention of experienced manufacturers throughout the country, would automatically come before the public in their most perfected form, through well-established channels, and under conditions assuring competitive terms, plus the royalties. The inventor would not of necessity be forced to go into business, or to sell his rights for an arbitrary price. His inclination would be to retain his patent, supplement its publication by advertising it to the industry likely to be interested, and gather direct from it such reward as his invention might merit. . . .

A study of the numerous instances in which inventions are now being worked on a royalty basis, would greatly assist in devising a satisfactory scale. To provide for special cases in which the royalties might work a hardship, either to the inventor or to the community, there could be a commission to which either might appeal for a proper readjustment.

THE CULTURAL NEEDS OF THE COLLEGES

THIS time has come when even the most progressive friends of the modern college—men who both by natural inclination, university training, and active public interests are in hearty sympathy with more effective and more scientific method in collegiate instruction and administration—must needs admit to a growing realization of the fact that we have reached a crisis in our college development, that we have gone too far in the modernization of the curriculum, that our ideals must be readjusted, or that the college must go." The question whether the college is a necessary or a superfluous institution is a question of political and social economy and will be settled as such.

If the college has something to offer our social, intellectual, and moral life which neither the high school, nor the university, nor the technical school can offer; if it has a distinct and beneficent contribution to make to American civilization, the college should remain, and an enlightened public opinion will demand its jealous preservation. If, on the other hand, it but accomplishes what a year or two added to the high school together with the professional school can do equally well, and even more cheaply, then by all means the college should go.

The author of the foregoing observations is Mr. Thomas Lindsey Blayney, head of the department of Modern European Literature and Arts, Central University of Kentucky, who in the *Sewanee Review* makes an eloquent appeal for the restoration of culture to its proper position in the college curriculum. This element of culture, which has been called "the fruit of knowledge married to sympathy," is, he says, "the corner-stone upon

which the whole structure of the curriculum must rest." Sacrifice culture, and "you have withdrawn from the college its very reason of existence."

The causes of the deterioration of American colleges are various. One of them is "the shameless competition in the educational field," which has "vitiated the fundamental aims of collegiate instruction." To quote Mr. Blayney:

Standards have had to be adapted to the needs of the "average man," which has discouraged all attempts at real, intensive scholarship. The conception has gained ground that the college is a "finishing school"; hence the crowding of halls with students (?) whose families and whose ambitions are in little or no sympathy with the real purpose of the college. From their ranks are recruited the "snobs" of college life.

Another cause of deterioration has been the practice at some of the smaller colleges of employing instructors who are not specially trained men. Even one such "makeshift" man, whatever be his age or dignity, in the faculty of the smaller college undermines the morale of both students and faculty.

Mr. Blayney sees hopeful signs of the renaissance of the liberal arts college. He notes, for example, Harvard's change of policy toward the wholesale elective system; also, the recent recommendation of the class of 1885 to the trustees of Amherst College, "advising the elimination of the scientific (B.S.) degree and the concentration of funds and efforts (including the payment of large salaries to a picked faculty) upon what should be the true ideals of collegiate training—the attainment of disinterested culture."

INTERNATIONAL REGULATION OF OCEAN TRAVEL TO-DAY

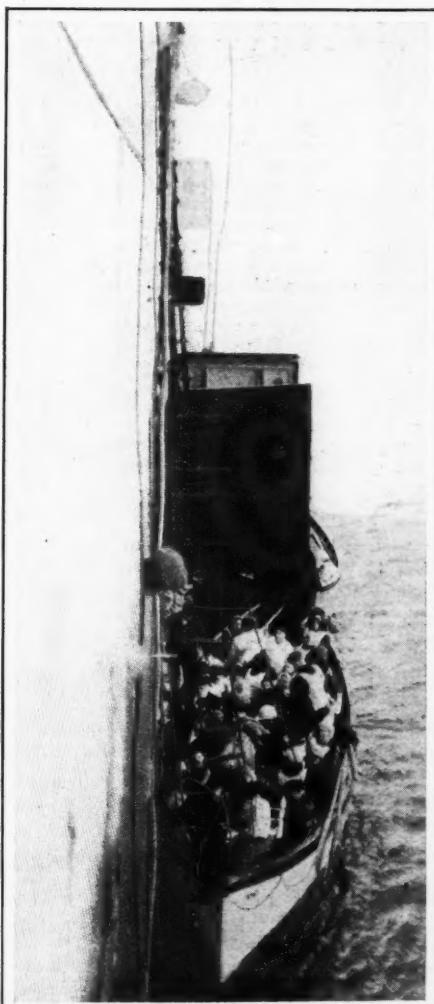
IT is inevitable that the American and British investigations into the *Titanic* tragedy will be followed by radical changes and improvements in the regulation of passenger traffic on the ocean. By agreement between the foremost maritime nations of the world, particularly Great Britain, Germany, France, and the United States, a conference to discuss this subject will meet in London before many months. Meanwhile it will be profitable and interesting to give a summary of the regulations at present existing regarding this highly important phase of human intercommunication.

In a paper read before the annual meeting of the American Society of International Law, held in Washington, on April 25, Mr. Everett P. Wheeler, one of the best known members of the New York bar, surveyed the development of international usages, which have, from time to time, by general acquiescence, come to prevail among civilized nations. These usages are set forth in decisions of international tribunals, in treaties, and in the writings of students and authorities.

Many congresses considering maritime matters have been held during the past century. The first great meeting at The Hague, in 1899, made provision for an international court of arbitration, which has, of course, largely to do with maritime matters. However, in the century preceding this epoch-making congress, there had been other gatherings of the nations, the deliberations of which led to greater uniformity in maritime law. Said Mr. Wheeler:

As the commerce between different countries increased, the number and size of vessels trading between them increased in a corresponding ratio. The speed and power of ocean steamers have increased in equal ratio, and these mighty vessels have almost entirely displaced the sailing vessels which carried almost all ocean commerce down to the year 1850. The risk of collision had increased in a corresponding ratio. Certain usages in reference to lights and signals had grown up in different countries. It is to the honor of the State of New York that one of the first acts of legislation prescribing lights and signals for the purpose of avoiding collision was adopted by that State in the year 1829. This act provided for the range lights, the forward white light lower, the after white light higher, which were required on all the waters of the State of New York for many years and were finally adopted by the International Maritime Conference of 1889. Before that time and in or about the year 1861 many maritime nations had regulated the lights and signals and precautions to be observed by ocean-bound vessels and these by

common consent had become the law of the sea. But experience showed that these regulations were in some respects deficient and the construction put upon them by the courts of different countries was to some extent diverse. Accordingly, by agreement of the great maritime nations, an international maritime conference was held at Washington in the year 1869. Many distinguished men familiar with the problems of navigation, some by experience in the navy, some by experience in merchant service and some as business men or maritime lawyers, took part in this conference. It revised the rules of navigation and the requirements as to lights and signals. The international rules as recommended by them were adopted by



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SURVIVORS OF THE "TITANIC" BOARDING THE "CARPATHIA" IN THE OPEN SEA

statute or by executive decree in all the principal maritime nations and have become the law of the sea from that time to the present. They have removed many of the distressing conflicts of law which existed before their adoption and have undoubtedly been the means of saving many lives. The percentage of collisions has diminished; the percentage of lives lost in consequence of collision has also greatly diminished.

This conference also dealt with the subject of ocean lanes and that of life-saving stations and devices. To quote Mr. Wheeler again:

Commodore Maury, before the Civil War, had made a careful study of the ocean currents on the route between New York and Liverpool under the climatic conditions which prevailed at different seasons of the year, and had recommended certain routes to be observed by ocean steamers plying between the United States on one side and British, French and German ports on the other side of the Atlantic. The great Civil War distracted attention from these recommendations. The subject was again taken up by Thomas Henry Ismay, who was one of the founders of the White Star Line, in a letter to the British Board of Trade on January 1, 1876. In this letter he called the attention of the Board of Trade to these recommendations of Commodore Maury, recommended them strongly for adoption as means of preventing collisions and avoiding danger from ice, and declared that he had required the steamers of the White Star Line sailing between New York and Liverpool to observe them. This recommendation was again taken up by the firm of Ismay, Imris & Co., of which Mr. Ismay had been the senior partner, in a communication to the British Board of Trade, dated December 12, 1889. The result has been that these lanes have been adopted by all the transatlantic lines.

The chief difficulty in the way of securing absolute observance of this regulation regarding "lanes" was pointed out by Ensign Everett Hayden, in a discussion before the United States Naval Institute at Annapolis, which was reconsidered at the conference of 1899. Mr. Hayden said:

The mails are given to the fastest vessels. One steamer may take a safer route, traverse a slightly longer distance and lose the mails. This very thing happened last year, when the *Werra* was beaten a few hours by the *Servia*, and Capt. Bussius complained that he had followed the route recommended and lost the mail in consequence. This question should, therefore, be carefully considered and postal regulations framed accordingly.

The subject of life-saving systems and devices received extended treatment at this conference in the report of the special committee appointed for that purpose. This statement included a report made to the British Board of Trade by a commission appointed by the crown. The chairman of this commission was Thomas Henry Ismay,

father of J. Bruce Ismay, the present head of the International Mercantile Marine, whose connection with the disaster to the *Titanic* has occasioned so much discussion throughout the English-speaking world. With regard to Mr. Ismay, Senior, Mr. Wheeler took occasion to say:

May I stop for a moment to say that I have known many men who were prominent in the commercial world. I have never known one of keener and more comprehensive insight, more liberal views, and more resolute determination to achieve the best results for the public than the elder Mr. Ismay.

The report of the commission, which was appointed by the British Board of Trade, laid down in detail the regulations and rules for life-preserving equipment on passenger-carrying ships. This classification, which is of especial interest at the present time, was in substance as follows:

Ships of 9000 gross tonnage and upward are required to have at least two life-boats "to be placed under davits." Each such life-boat to contain not less than 5250 cubic feet of space. If such boats do not furnish sufficient accommodation for all persons on board, then "additional wood, metal, collapsible, or other boats of approved description (whether placed under davits or otherwise) or approved life-rafts shall be carried." These additional boats must together, in the aggregate, provide "at least double the minimum cubic contents required for the others." The exceptions to or exemptions from the strict requirements of this rule are: "when ships are divided into efficient water-tight compartments so that with any two of them in free communication with the sea, the ship will remain afloat in moderate weather, they shall only be required to carry additional boats or life-rafts of one-half of the capacity required in the preceding rule." The regulations further provide that there must be a life buoy for each boat and a life belt for each person.

The principle of these rules was approved by the conference, which recommended

that the several governments adopt measures to secure compliance with these principles in regard to such boats and appliances for vessels of 150 tons and upward gross tonnage.

Unfortunately the several governments did not adopt these recommendations, and a great diversity came to prevail in the equipment of ocean steamers belonging to different countries.

Some nations were exacting, some were lax. The result was an unfair discrimination against the vessels of those countries which had adopted more stringent regulations. Unfortunately, the traveling public does not appear ever to have attached importance to the existence of safety appliances

upon ocean vessels. The percentage of deaths caused by accidents at sea has been so small that practically they have been considered negligible. I am sure there are many here who have listened to the collect in the Episcopal liturgy in which the petition is for preservation on the great deep and to be guarded from the dangers of the sea and have thought it somewhat superfluous. The recent dreadful disaster has shown that although these perils are much less frequent than they were when this collect was composed, yet when they do occur they may be more deadly. It is, therefore,

not difficult at this particular moment to convince our people that agreement on this subject between the commercial nations of the world is of great importance. Even if among the 2,167,115 passengers carried across the Atlantic during the year ending June 30, 1911, the loss of life was only 262 and the percentage of loss was, therefore, about one in eight thousand, still in the aggregate the loss was serious. In the current year it has been terrible and we all agree that precautions must be taken as far as human skill and foresight can extend to prevent it in the future.

ICEBERGS AND SEARCHLIGHTS

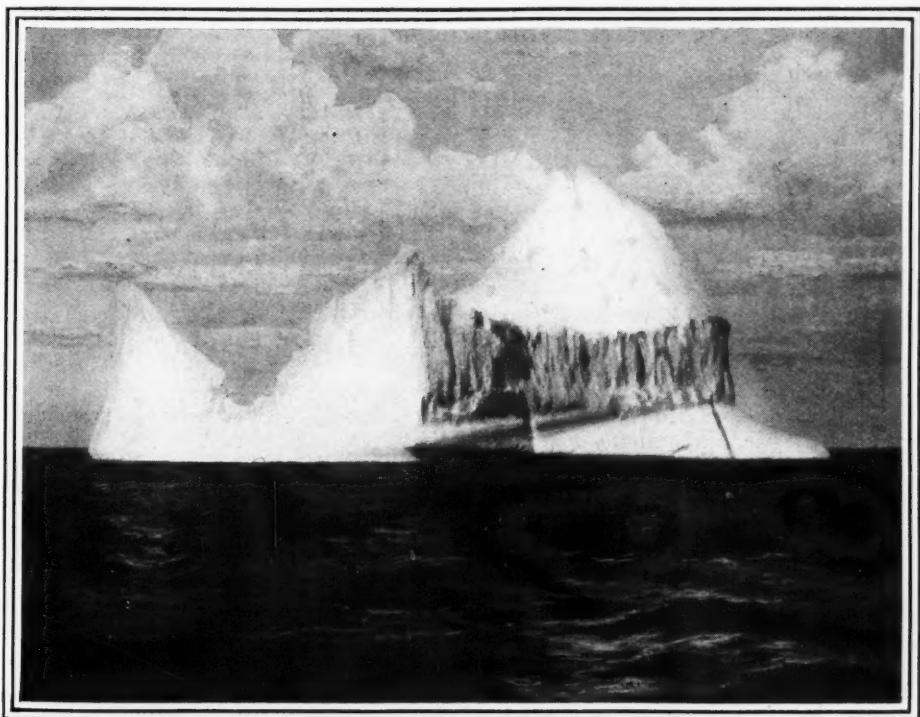
AMONG the various suggestions of a preventive nature arising out of the lamentable *Titanic* disaster, one that has attracted considerable attention has been that to use searchlights to detect the presence of icebergs. On such a proposal no opinion could be more valuable than that of Rear-Admiral Robert E. Peary, whose views have been ascertained by the *Army and Navy Journal*, and appear in its issue of April 27 last. The Admiral believes that

A powerful searchlight would be of great assistance in determining the presence of icebergs in a ship's course in clear weather. In dense fog it

would be useless except at such short range as to be of no value. There is no reason why a searchlight on a transatlantic liner should not be equally as effective in determining the presence of icebergs or field ice in any direction, as the searchlight on a battleship or cruiser in determining the presence of torpedo boats or other craft. And the same conditions which would affect the usefulness of the searchlight in the one case would also affect it in the other.

The large bergs, being most easily located and avoided, are "the least dangerous of all," and

under certain atmospheric conditions the presence of these bergs can be detected even while below the



A NORTH ATLANTIC ICEBERG

horizon, sometimes by the reflection upon the sky above them, sometimes by the little cloud of condensed moisture hovering over them.

At closer range air temperatures, water temperatures, the whistle and megaphone, the sound of breaking seas and the searchlight may all be of assistance in detecting the danger, and, on the other hand, under adverse conditions all these may be useless in giving warning in sufficient time to prevent disaster.

But, as the Admiral remarks—and the *Titanic* catastrophe furnished appalling testimony to the truth of the observation—"the value of all these methods is largely vitiated by the high speed at which modern steamships travel."

What in the shape of an iceberg a steamer has most to dread is thus described by Admiral Peary:

The most dangerous ice menace to a steamer is the last remaining fragment of a berg, usually a mass of dense translucent ice, hard as rock, almost entirely submerged, absorbing the color of the surrounding water, and almost invisible, even in broad daylight, until close aboard. These masses of ice present no surface to the air to affect its temperature, to cause condensation, to catch the eye, to send back an echo, or to form a sea. Nor is the size of the mass sufficient to affect the temperature of the surrounding water to any distance. I know of no way of detecting them except by the eye, and, as noted, even that is often difficult, even under favorable conditions.

These dangerous fragments of bergs we know in the Arctic regions as "growlers."

The Admiral relates an experience of his own with one of these "growlers."

I recall one occasion in Melville Bay when my second mate in broad light, with no other iceberg or fragment of ice in sight from the crow nest, smashed the ship full speed on to one of these submerged ice rocks with a force which carried away the cabin table, broke some of the couplings in the engine room and nearly sent the topmasts overboard.

The stout little wooden ship, with her solid bow and elastic sides, caromed off it like a billiard ball without injury. A steel ship would have had her bilge torn open from bow to quarter. For our huge modern steel steamships, traveling at high speed and intensely vulnerable to puncture, there is no certain protection against icebergs except to give the region where they may occur the widest berth.

In his northern work, with his "snug, strong little wooden ship, the *Roosevelt*, minding its helm quickly and going at moderate speed," icebergs never gave Explorer Peary and his party much concern. The danger they most feared, and from which they had some narrow escapes, was that "of being smashed under by a huge mass of ice breaking off from a berg alongside and falling on the deck."

And, strangely as the statement reads, there were occasions when icebergs proved themselves friends and not foes.

At times the icebergs were eagerly sought for shelter and protection. The wake of a berg or group of bergs often enabled us to hold our position against the drift of large fields of floe ice. And in Robeson and Kennedy Channels grounded icebergs frequently offered us a partially protected position between them and the rocks of the shore against the onset of heavy floes of field ice.

THE NORTH AND SOUTH POLES—WHAT THE WORLD GAINS BY THEIR DISCOVERY

THE raising of the Norwegian flag at the south pole by Captain Roald Amundsen on December 14, 1911, signalized the completion of about 140 years of exploration of the Antarctic continent. North-polar exploration had attracted the attention of adventurous and ambitious men of many nations for nearly 400 years before Commander Robert E. Peary unfurled the Stars and Stripes at the North Pole. There being no more poles to conquer, it is both interesting and instructive to take stock of what we have gained by the discoveries which have entailed so much labor and expense and have, unfortunately, cost so many lives. Writing on this subject in *Popular Mechanics* Admiral Peary, quaintly enough, records, as the first significance of the attainment of the poles, the fact that now is fulfilled the scriptural injunction with regard to our first parents: "Let them have dominion over all the earth." The second significance is "the opening up of the last large unknown area for both observation and investigation." To-day, only in a few detached localities of comparatively small area are places to be found which have not been seen by the eye of man, and which have not yielded to that irresistible combination, the perfect human animal machine with its wonderful adjustability and endurance, spurred and guided by the flame of divine intelligence.

In the *World's Work* and in an address delivered at the American Museum of Natural History, New York, Admiral Peary gives some interesting details and comparisons

with regard to exploration in the Arctic and Antarctic circles.

Amundsen's journey has shown what was, however, practically known before from Shackleton's expedition, that the South Pole is located in a great elevated snow plateau about 11,000 feet above the sea level. Amundsen's determination of the head of the Ross Sea ice barrier is of interest in connection with the theory of some geographers that Antarctica was divided into two principal masses, separated by a trough filled with barrier ice, extending from Ross Sea to Weddell Sea. Amundsen's journey appears to negative this theory. The north pole is located in a sea basin two miles or more in depth.

As regards fauna and flora, the conditions in the two polar regions exhibit a remarkable contrast.

The most northerly north-polar lands known possess a comparative abundance of animal life—musk-ox, reindeer, polar bear, wolf, fox, Arctic hare, ermine, lemming, and land birds, as well as forms of insect life—and during a few short weeks in summer numbers of brilliant flowers. Human life ranges to within some 700 miles of the North Pole. On the Antarctic continent, there is absolutely no form of animal or vegetable life, though two or three species of sea birds breed during a few weeks in summer at several localities on the coast. No human life is to be found nearer than Tierra del Fuego, some 2000 miles from the South Pole.

Admiral Peary puts the area of the Antarctic continent at 5,000,000 square miles, and the diameter at about 2,500 geographical miles. Another traverse is needed from the opposite side of Antarctic to the pole, which with the journeys of Amundsen and Scott will give us continuous traverse section of the Antarctic continent. Of the benefits to science from the explorations in the south-polar regions, the Admiral quotes Prof. Forest Ray Moulton, of Chicago University, who shows that in the fields of meteorology, geology, and zoölogy, important results must follow further observations in Antarctica, and that many magnetic and tidal phenomena will doubtless be solved there. For all practical intents and purposes, "the South Pole has a permanent fixed land surface uninterrupted by lanes of open water on which to work and travel. On such a surface depots can be established at intervals of fifty miles, if desirable, all the way to the pole."

Admiral Peary considers that

now it is the duty of the United States, as a matter of national pride and morale, to make up for its failure hitherto to join the other nations in attacking the Antarctic problem.

There is no way in which this desirable result can be secured by a single stroke, and with greater credit and certainty of immediate and important



CAPTAIN ROALD AMUNDSEN

results other than by occupying the South Pole during a year as a station for the purpose of continuous magnetic, meteorological, astronomical, and other scientific observations by a small party of experts.

To effect such occupation would be only a matter of detail, and it is not necessary to enlarge to the popular mind on the prestige and credit of occupying for the first time, as a scientific station, one of the poles and the only one capable of such occupation. Nor is it necessary to enlarge to the scientific mind on the value and importance of the resulting observations.

One thing that Captain Amundsen's successful capture of the South Pole seems to have demonstrated beyond doubt is "that the Eskimo dog is the one and only motive power for polar expeditions."

Reference may be appropriately made here to the unfortunate death by drowning of Mr. Borup, to whom with Mr. MacMillan the Museum of Natural History had entrusted

the next north-polar expedition for the exploration of Crocker Land and the crossing of Greenland. In the light of the lamentable cutting short of Mr. Borup's promising career, there is a pathetic interest attaching to the following passage from Admiral Peary's address, referred to above:

I congratulate the museum upon its undertaking these two great and interesting problems.

And I doubly congratulate the museum on putting the work in charge of my two boys, Borup and

MacMillan, than whom no two men could be better fitted for the work by physique, temperament, experience and inclination.

When I recall their sledge journey from Cape Sheridan to Cape Morris K. Jesup and their return from there, covering 275 miles in eight marches; when I recall their work establishing depots westward along the north coast of Grant Land, and when I recall their work with me on the journey to the Pole, I speak with definite knowledge when I say to the museum and its friends that it has placed the execution of the work in good hands and that the work will be done and well done.

A SHEEP MAN ON THE WOOL-GROWING INDUSTRY

IF there is one industry more than any other concerning which a plain, unvarnished statement of facts is sorely needed, it is the wool-growing industry in the United States. Much of the current speculation about it is mere wild guesswork. The sheep-raisers of the West are characterized as nomads having no abiding interest in the general welfare of the country; they are also suspected of being in conspiracy with the trusts to boost the high cost of mutton and clothing. These and similar misrepresentations have prompted Mr. Paul S. Richards to present (in the May *Forum*) the sheepman's position. Himself a Wyoming sheep man, Mr. Richards asserts that while wool-growers are met with in the East, "sheep men are to be found only west of the Missouri. Their flocks, fed on the grass of great unoccupied ranges, furnish most of the wool and mutton produced in the United States. They have endured the hardships of the wilderness, and, in former years, have been rewarded with a fair prosperity. That prosperity is now seriously imperiled."

When Mr. Richards first set foot in Douglas, Wyoming, ten years ago, he found himself, he says, in a community of sheep-men. Besides the sheep men pure and simple everybody else was interested in sheep—the saloon-keepers, leading lawyer and doctor, bank officials, newspaper man, the taxidermist, all the merchants but one; and even two of the preachers had retired as pastors and become shepherds.

It was a sheep town, sure enough. They worshipped not the golden calf, but the golden fleece. . . . There were no millionaires, but there were several men whose fortunes ran into six figures. . . . The citizens pointed with pride to a dozen men who a few years before had been herding sheep at \$30 a month who were now worth from

\$5000 to \$20,000 or more. All a poor optimist had to do to get rich was to get a band of sheep on shares. Such a man was freely furnished with credit by the bank and the stores till he could realize on his wool and lamb crop. The atmosphere of the country was charged with the feeling of hope and prosperity. . . . And back of it all . . . lay the Open Range, millions of acres of Government land that rolled away like a great sea of hill and plain and billowy foothills to the Canadian border and the Mexican line. It was sparsely covered with cactus and sagebrush and buffalo grass. It had appeared on the maps as the "Great American Desert." But it was free. Free grass was the commercial life-blood of the arid region. There was not much of it to the acre. But in the aggregate it spelled success and prosperity for every man who could raise the money to buy a band of sheep, or a herd of cattle, and knew the business.

It did not take long to change all this. To-day there are still millions of acres of Government land; but "the creeks and streams and springs that furnish watering places for stock have been filed upon and have passed into the hands of private owners." A congested condition of the range has gradually developed. There are too many horses, cattle, and sheep for the amount of grass that grows upon it. In a dry season either hay and grain must be shipped in from the East, or the stock must be shipped to eastern feeding points to be wintered.

If any of his readers fails to realize that the sheep business is to-day in a very bad way, it is not through any fault of Mr. Richards in describing the situation. Take, for instance, the following passage:

The sheep business to-day is sick. It has been ravaged by one misfortune after another for the past three years. The list of them spreads out into a tale of woe that needs but the hand of a poet to be cast on the lines of the Book of Job or an old



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A COLORADO SHEEP RANCH

Greek tragedy. If the Lord had looked upon our iniquities and said in His wrath, "They are an evil race, let them be no more," we might understand the series of disasters whose sum-total mounts to such epic proportions. The list of them reads like the plagues of Egypt. For they are seven. Here they are, in more or less chronological order: Dry farmers; foot-and-mouth disease; the winter of 1910; drouth the summer following; drouth again in 1911; low prices for wool and lambs; and last of all, the great American bugbear that has been made of "Schedule K," and the fear of death at the hands of the tariff doctors.

Of course, this list is only partial. It does not include such incidental misfortunes as sporadic attacks of scabies, or the loss of probably over a million dollars' worth of sheep and lambs from wolves and coyotes in the State of Wyoming alone, as a result of the refusal of the Governor of Wyoming to sign the bill making the customary appropriation of \$60,000 for bounty on "varmints."

A "dry farmer" is one who attempts agriculture without irrigation in the region of insufficient rainfall. The dissemination of the theory of dry farming resulted in an invasion of the sheeplands by thousands of immigrants on whom the real-estate sharks grew fat and multiplied. According to Mr. Richards, the experiment was a disastrous one.

For two years now the dry farmers have raised nothing but children and cries for help. In Weston County over 100 families have been furnished with free transportation back to points where the

struggle for existence did not include the dry climate. . . . But the fact remains that hundreds of thousands of acres of the best grass land of these States has been taken from the open range by this costly experiment, and little of it is likely soon to become public grazing land. . . . The fences won't come down. That free grass is gone forever.

The arctic winter of 1909-1910, the following periods of drouth, foot-and-mouth disease, and, above all, the "tariff nightmare" have cut the prices for wool and mutton "almost squarely in two." In 1909 Mr. Richards received for his wool 24 cents a pound. In 1911 the average price was probably not over 12 cents. Two years ago the average price at which lambs were marketed was about \$3. This year it was below \$2, and many flockmasters did not net more than \$1.80. The town of Douglas, described so optimistically above, is now a town of gloom, a "community that stands in fear of disaster."

Mr. Richards in discussing the cost of growing a pound of wool gives in fullest detail the figures for labor, supplies, taxes, shearing, breeding, etc., and shows that on a band of 2,500 ewes a sheep-man's total annual expenses are \$4737.50, or \$1.89½ a head. Beyond this, the average sheep-man has to pay interest at 10 per cent. on borrowed money, which means an addition to

his expenses of \$250 annually. The net profit on the year's transactions is represented by \$227.87. But in hundreds of cases the money borrowed runs the interest charges up to \$1250, leaving a deficit on the year of \$772.13. Hundreds of sheep men have been rendered insolvent by the tariff agitation. Mr. Richards puts his situation quite frankly:

I said by way of introduction that I am a sheep man. I am not a statesman. This is not an attempt to show that the tariff on raw wool should not be lowered. The interests of the American public must determine that. But we have seen a drop in the price of wool in two years from 22 cents to 12 cents, without any lowering of the

price of woolen clothing. We have seen the placing of hides on the free list followed by a rise in the price of shoes. We have sold our lambs and our wethers for little more than half the price we received two years ago, with no change in the price of mutton to the consumer.

Would the destruction of the sheep industry benefit the American people? No one believes that. Would a material reduction in the tariff on wool destroy the sheep industry? Emphatically, yes. Owing to the vicissitudes we have endured for the past two years we have seen how a prosperous industry has been brought to the verge of bankruptcy. The narrow margin of profit that now exists may be changed to disastrous loss by any of the great risks of the range. A further lowering of prices would certainly be followed by ruin. If ever an industry needed protection, and needed it badly, it is the sheep industry to-day.

INDUSTRIAL UNIONISM AND ITS IDEALS

AS stated in the paragraph on the close of the Lawrence strike, in the April number of the REVIEW, it was the organization known as the Industrial Workers of the World which became influential among the strikers and "succeeded in welding the various elements into a semblance of a labor union." The conduct of the strike and the success of the strikers have brought this organization to national attention, with the result that many of the statements as to its history and purpose which have appeared in the press have been inaccurate and contradictory. For this reason Dr. William E. Bohn, one of the university men identified with the Industrial Workers of the World¹ in its initial stages, was requested by the *Survey* to prepare an account of the development of the organization, and this appears in the issue of that publication for May 4. It describes the origin of the I. W. W. as follows:

In 1904 six men prominently identified with various industrial or semi-industrial unions met in Chicago and issued a call for a larger conference to thirty-six persons who were chosen as representatives of the more progressive union spirit. This was the beginning of the I. W. W. The second conference met at Chicago during the opening days of January, 1905. The result of its deliberations was the call for a convention to meet in Chicago on June 27.

At the first convention 186 delegates, representing nominally 90,000 members, were present, and they adopted the famous preamble which has since become "the official gospel of industrial unionism in the United

States." The more important sentences of this document read thus:

The working-class and the employing class have nothing in common. . . . Between these two classes a struggle must go on until all the toilers come together on the political as well as the industrial field, and take and hold that which they produce by their labor through an economic organization of the working class without affiliation with any political party. . . . Conditions can be changed and the interests of the working class upheld only by an organization formed in such a way that all members in any one industry, or in all industries, if necessary, cease work whenever a strike or a lockout is on in any department thereof, thus making an injury to one an injury to all.

Almost from the start there occurred dissensions, arising chiefly between prominent members of the two socialistic parties; and at the 1908 convention a definite split occurred, Mr. Daniel DeLeon and a number of other elected delegates being denied seats at the convention. These met in the following November, and organized a separate body under the same name. It now has headquarters at Detroit, Mich. Neither organization has a large membership. Dr. Bohn says:

Vincent St. John, secretary-treasurer of the Industrial Workers of the World, wrote me in February, while the Lawrence strike was on, that this organization had enrolled some 15,000 members. The Detroit I. W. W. is probably even smaller.

What is the characteristic of the I. W. W. movement which gives it its present prominent position in the public mind? Dr. Bohn thinks its most striking feature is the unfaltering devotion of its adherents. Hundreds

¹To avoid confusion, the abbreviation I. W. W. will be used in the article for the Industrial Workers of the World, having headquarters at Chicago. The other organization which goes by the same name and which has headquarters at Detroit will be termed Detroit I. W. W.



Photograph by the American Press Association, New York

HAYWARD AND ETTOR, LEADERS OF THE INDUSTRIAL WORKERS OF THE WORLD,
AT LAWRENCE, MASS.

of men and women, living as best they can, wherever they can do most for their cause, go from place to place, taking whatever jobs they happen to find and preaching everywhere industrial unionism. The ideals of the I. W. W. differ from those of the old trade-unionism. The ideal of the latter was expressed in the phrase "a fair day's wage for a fair day's work." Industrial unionism has three distinct slogans: "industrial freedom"; "one big union"; "an injury to one an injury to all." Dr. Bohn sets forth the following general statements which, in spite of all divergence, hold true of all those who properly call themselves industrial unionists:

- (1) They all believe in the "one big union."
- (2) They all refuse to bind themselves by means of contracts with their employers. Believing, as they do, that there is an inevitable and continuous struggle between employers and employed, it seems to them that a contract is a truce with their natural enemy, a truce, moreover, which gives him all the advantage. It must be remembered, in this connection, that no employer ever binds himself not to discharge a workman.
- (3) They all believe that all workers should be brought into the union. On this account they are opposed to high fees and long apprenticeships. They reason that since the introduction of machinery is rapidly reducing all workers to the level of unskilled laborers it is best to recognize absolute community of interests once for all. To them

union men who boost their own wages by refusing to allow others to learn their trade are as much traitors to their class as the lowest-priced strike-breaker.

(4) They do not insist upon the closed shop. To them this savors of collusion with the employer. The common arrangement in accordance with which the employer collects union dues appears to them a sure sign that the union has surrendered to the capitalist and will be expected to return certain favors for those received.

(5) They all believe that the great weapon of the working class on the economic field is the well-timed, energetically conducted strike. Not being bound by contracts they can strike without notice and at the moment when a tie-up will do the employer most harm. This belief in the power of the strike extends, naturally, to faith in the ultimate efficacy of the general strike. But the general strike must be preceded, of course, by equally "general" industrial union education and organization.

(6) They all believe that they have here and now the nucleus of the industrial commonwealth in the industrial union.

With regard to the last point, practically all revolutionists, all those who are bent on replacing our present capitalist system with an industrial commonwealth, may be divided into three well-defined groups: (1) pure and simple political socialists; (2) direct-actionists; (3) those who believe in combined and coördinated political and economic activity. Of these the direct-actionist has been con-

nected especially with the resort to violent means. Now, according to Dr. Bohn:

A direct-actionist may or may not believe, that violent measures are justifiable in the fight against capitalism. It is safe to say that all the members of the Detroit I. W. W. are consistently opposed to

violence. . . . Moreover, very many of the members of the I. W. W. are also opposed to violence. Some of the latter organization, however, believe that violence is always justifiable and sometimes more effective than any other means. . . . Violence is used against them, and it is necessary to fight fire with fire.

THE SO-CALLED AMERICAN WAGE-EARNER AND THE STRIKE AT LAWRENCE

"IT has been pointed out with emphasis, and it cannot be denied, that the woolen and worsted-mill owners have been guilty of sham and hypocrisy in demanding a high tariff for the protection of the American mill operative, *when, as a matter of fact, the so-called American wage-earner does not exist.*" This sweeping charge against the textile manufacturers occurs in an article entitled "The Lesson from Lawrence," contributed to the *North American Review* by Mr. W. Jett Lauck, who since 1908 has had charge of the field work in the industrial investigation of the United States Immigration Commission. This writer makes the further assertion that

instead of a protective tariff serving as a bulwark for American standards against the "pauper labor" of Europe it has been made clear that the American mill-hand has not only been exposed to the direct competition of a cheap, alien labor-supply from the south and east of Europe, but, because of his inability to work under the same conditions and at the same wages as the recent immigrant, has been forced to leave the woolen-goods manufacturing industry. The inadequacy of the earnings of married men; the need for wives and children to work; the lack of an independent form of family life, due to the necessity of taking boarders and lodgers in order to supplement the earnings of husbands; the poor housing facilities and the highly congested living conditions; the segregation of the alien textile operatives, their inability to speak English, and their failure to develop any political or civic interest—all these and many other lamentable facts relative to working and living conditions in Lawrence have come to light as the result of the present strike.

The chief lesson, however, to be learned from the Lawrence strike, and one which the American people do not seem to have yet grasped, is that the situation there is typical of all our important industrial centers. The working and living conditions which have been shown to exist in Lawrence are "found in all of our industrial localities in the North and West, no matter upon what branch of manufacturing or mining they are dependent." It will doubtless surprise many readers of the REVIEW to learn that the U. S.

Immigration Commission, after an exhaustive investigation, failed to discover a single purely American industrial community in all the territory east of the Mississippi and north of the Ohio and Potomac Rivers. "No manufacturing or mining locality of any importance could be found which did not have its immigrant colony of industrial workers from southern and eastern Europe." Of over half a million employees in twenty-one leading industries, three-fifths were of foreign birth, and of these two-fifths were from the south and east of Europe. These industries included cigars and tobacco, agricultural implements, copper mining and smelting, cotton goods, leather, railroad construction, slaughtering and meat-packing, iron and steel, shoes and sugar; and the percentages of foreign-born employees ranged from 27 per cent. (in shoes) to 85 per cent. (in sugar-refining). These immigrants from southern and eastern Europe are "characterized by a high degree of illiteracy," and of 250,000 only 53 per cent. could speak the English language. Of certain employees in mines and factories only about one in six could read or write in any language.

The living conditions at Lawrence, also, are typical of those in other industrial centers. "A normal form of family life—wife and children supported by the earnings of the husband—is as uncommon in other industrial localities as in Lawrence." The income of the family is supplemented by the earnings of the children and by boarders. Of 17,000 investigated by the commission there was an average of 246 persons for each 100 sleeping-rooms. The average monthly rent for each person in 11,000 families was \$1.60, and among the Bulgarians and Macedonians it was as low as 78 cents a month per person. The standards of living indicated by these small payments are self-evident.

The status of the wage-earner and his family at Lawrence being typical of the so-called American wage-earner in general, the question is what can be done to improve the entire industrial situation. The causes of

this situation lie in the attraction to our shores of millions of "untrained, inexperienced, non-English-speaking, illiterate, temporary immigrant wage-earners." The native Americans and the older immigrants from Europe, finding themselves unable to compete with the low standards and the rates of payment accepted by the recent immigrant workmen, have sought other employment.

The obvious solution consists in imposing a check upon a further addition to this labor-supply until those who are already at work in our mines and mills can be absorbed and elevated to a point where they will demand proper wages and working conditions. If the alien influx is permitted to continue it will mean a further degradation of the industrial worker and the intensifying of the conditions of unrest and dissatisfaction which offer such

fruitful ground to the Socialist and other revolutionary and radical propagandists. McKee's Rock and Lawrence are object-lessons in this respect. We shall do well if we heed their teachings. A temporary restriction of immigration would not imply any racial discrimination or deviation from our traditional policy of offering an asylum to those who are politically or religiously oppressed.

Whether we have a restriction of immigration or not, we must educate and assimilate the recent immigrants who are already resident in our cities and towns and who are workers in our mines and industrial plants. The astounding fact in connection with the presence of a large immigrant population in all of our industrial communities has been the complete indifference of the native Americans to its existence.

This attitude must be altered. The alien must be Americanized if we are again to have "American" wage-earners.

FALLACIES CONCERNING THE RIGHT TO RESORT TO THE STRIKE AND LOCKOUT

WITH the air full of the echoes of strikes past and of rumors of strikes to come, employers and employees alike may read with profit an article in the *Hibbert Journal* for April by Dr. Robert A. Duff. Its language is temperate, its reasoning cogent, and its presentation of the entire subject of strikes is characterized by sound common sense. Dr. Duff clears the ground by the observation that "it has to be said, in view of the claims frequently made by masters and men to have an absolute right to work or not work at their discretion, that such a claim is without warrant from the state."

For there are no single or separate rights in single persons or in combinations of persons which give them an absolute title to act in this way or that. All rights that may be enjoyed within a state form a system or unity. They are dependent on one another, limited by and effective through one another. . . . I have no right to act in a way which will lead to the disintegration of society. . . . Even though property is in the popular sense my own, there are many uses of it which I am not entitled to make. For example, I may not buy a war-vessel with it, nor use it to bribe a magistrate, or to procure a false witness, or to support a rebellion or a crime, or to erect houses contrary to the Buildings Regulations Act, or to set up an obstruction on the highway, or to print a libel. And what is true of property is equally true of life and working power. . . . From this it follows that no individual or combination of individuals can have even a *prima facie* claim to act according to their own discretion, unless they can show that the general interest will be better served by allowing such discretion.

These "semi-philosophical or common-sense remarks" are made by the writer "because

one hears so much loose talk indulged in by both masters and men to the effect that the state has no right to interfere in trade disputes. For this contention, he says, there is no ground.

The state has a right—and not only a right, but a duty—to intervene (or, if you like, to interfere) when its own unity, strength, and security are involved, compromised, or endangered.

The right to strike has been defined by a zealous defender of it as "the right to demonstrate the value of labor by withholding it." This definition is inadequate, "because both in theory and in practice a strike involves much more than a withholding of labor."

First of all, it is a *combined* or *organized* stoppage, and involves concerted common action on the part of a considerable number of persons for a single end. This puts it at once on a different plane from the liberty to work or not work which the law allows to each individual. . . . A is at liberty to sell or to refuse to sell food to Y. So also are B and C and D, etc. And the state can allow this liberty because it is on the whole in the interest of each. But if A, B, C, D, etc., combine to refuse to sell food to Y, Y may justly ask the state to compel them, as their combination is a negation of his very existence. Or again, though each of us has liberty to walk along the street, if ten thousand of us agree to go in solid procession through the streets, we may lawfully be forbidden to do so. Or though each of us is at liberty to stand at a shop window, or door, it does not follow that a thousand of us have the right at one and the same time. Or, if anyone is at liberty to ring your bell, it is not intended that a thousand people should. . . . In a meeting each man is at liberty to speak, but we are not at liberty to combine and all speak at once, else there will be no meeting.

As to the element that enters into both the theory and practice of the strike—namely, the claim that no one else shall do, or be allowed to do, the work of those who go on strike—Dr. Duff says: "This distinguishes it from every voluntary discharge. The men stop work, but they do not intend to give up the work."

When the strike is over, they not only demand to be taken back, but to be taken back as a body. . . . Every nerve is strained to see that those who have hitherto done the work shall not be replaced by newcomers. Now consider what this involves. It means that if those who carry on a particular service decide either that they will no longer carry it on, or that they will only carry it on under conditions for which they stipulate, then the community must go without that service until they please or until their terms are granted. . . . A claim of this nature is obviously little removed from taking society by the throat. For it means that each section of our very complex industrial organization will be wholly within the control of any small body of men. And not only each section, but the whole industrial life of the community; for the whole would in a few days or hours come to a standstill if any one of a hundred trades or occupations were to be wholly stopped.

Referring to the suggestion that has been made, that state ownership of railways would be a remedy for railway strikes, Dr. Duff negatives the idea. From the employees' point of view, it is doubtful whether the workers' position would be improved; for the first thing to disappear would be the right to strike. "Any refusal to work under the conditions imposed by the state would be a criminal, and probably a treasonable, act, punishable by fine and imprisonment." Setting aside state ownership as no solution, continuing his argument, Dr. Duff asks:

Should we begin to reconcile ourselves to the idea that the vital necessities of our national existence are at every moment at the mercy of what each section of the workers or the employers may think to be their rights or their due reward? Or is this a condition of things fraught with peril to the interests of all? . . . Can any class enjoying unchecked power be trusted to be a fair and just judge in its own cause?

And he makes this strong point: Supposing the community to be satisfied that a strike or lockout is unwarranted, what power has it to make its opinion operative? At present, none. The community has managed to "muddle along" without such power because strikes were seldom universal, and the sympathetic strike was not preached or practised. These conditions are now changed. The "sympathetic strike tends to widen infinitely the area to which the paralysis extends." And capital will not be slow to use the devices of labor, if only in self-defense, and it will be forced to grasp and wield them in earnest; for this is a game at which one party can play as well as the other. Dr. Duff inquires whether it would not be well, before this comes, for the workers to ask themselves seriously whether the paralyzing of industry can bring them aught but suffering and loss. After all it is pure coercion, "reckless of all consequence, like presenting a pistol at a man's head, or starving him into compliance with your demands. You may do this once, but he will take means to see that you shall not do it again." It is "not by coercive measures that better relations are established, but by seeking out the real causes of the difficulty." It is only in this way, says Dr. Duff, that a solution can be reached.

WILL BAHAIISM UNITE ALL RELIGIOUS FAITHS?

SURELY the dawn of a new day was heralded on that Sunday evening when the Archdeacon of Westminster walked hand in hand with the venerable Abdul Baha up the nave of St. John's Church, and invited him not only to address the congregation but to offer for them his prayers and blessing," says a writer in the *Fortnightly Review*.

Considering the dignity and conservatism of the Established Church of England, and the fact that this little-known Persian prophet has come to the western world to proclaim the dawn of the millennium, to announce that the Messiah awaited by all nations has actually lived, taught and died upon this earth within the past century, and

to preach what he and his followers believe to be the new world religion, designed to include and supersede all others and to unite all nations under the banner of a common faith, this would hardly seem an extravagant statement. When we add to it the assertion of the *Contemporary Review* that, within a week after his arrival in England, where he was almost unknown, Abdul Baha delivered an address from the pulpit of the City Temple in London, being introduced by its rector as the leader of one of the most remarkable religious movements of this or any other age, it seems evident that at least a part of the Episcopal Church is inclined to accord him the courtesy of a respectful hearing.

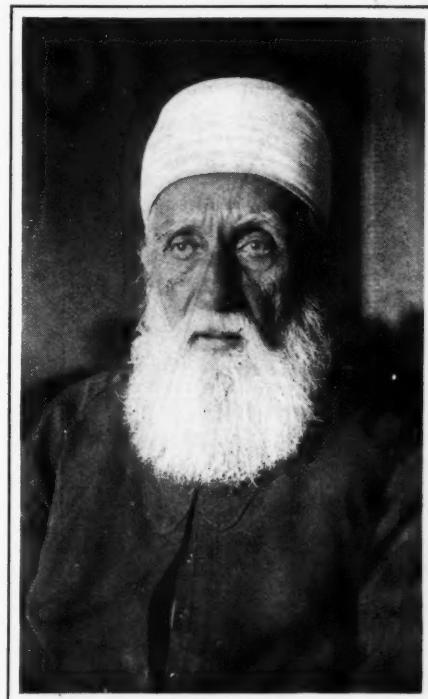
Religionists of other faiths were equally interested. The *Fortnightly Review* goes on to say:

To the house in London where Abdul Baha and his suite were received as honored, welcome guests, came a constant stream of all sorts and conditions of men and women, Christians of every denominations, Buddhist of every nationality, Theosophists, Zoroastrians and Mohammedans, Agnostics and Gnostics. To each he spoke some individual message, and to their varied questions he gave simple, direct and quite spontaneous answers.

A few weeks ago Abdul Baha and his little group of disciples landed in New York, quietly and almost unheralded by the newspapers. Courtesies similar to those he had received in London were at once extended to him by the Rev. Percy Stickney Grant and others of the clergy, and the first Sunday after his arrival he was invited to deliver his message in the Church of the Ascension. Since then he has been speaking constantly to those who cared to seek him out, and has announced his intention of visiting the Bahai communities in different cities of the United States.

Abdul Baha,—or Abbas Effendi, to use the name by which he was known before he received his mission,—makes no claim that he is himself the Messiah. He says plainly that he is not even a prophet, only Abdul Baha, the Servant of God. But he and his followers believe and assert that the Messiah expected by all peoples came in the form of Baha'u'llah, who spent the greater part of his life a prisoner in the Syrian penal colony at Acca, and who died there fourteen years ago. In this prison he wrote the three books which form the sacred scriptures of the Bahais, and from there he spread abroad his doctrines in the form of epistles and by means of such disciples as were not imprisoned with him. During the later years of his life he was visited by many distinguished scholars, as well as religious enthusiasts from all countries, and to the writings of the former we owe such authentic information as we possess concerning the character of the religious reformation that was hidden for so many years in the heart of the East. Almost without exception these accounts treated both teacher and doctrine with the utmost respect.

The absolute catholicity of the doctrine goes far toward explaining its ready acceptance by adherents of every known creed. It meddles with no religious beliefs, laws or observances, but insists on the unity underlying all. While its ultimate aim is the spir-



Photograph by Underwood & Underwood, New York

ABDUL BAHÀ

(Who has recently visited the United States)

itual unification of all mankind, it is not in any way subversive of the ancient creeds. On the contrary, it urges specifically that "each man shall cling more closely to his own church or faith, to the end that he may work therein to purify, ennable, enlarge, spiritualize and merge into the larger unity the expression of each particular belief." The Bahai who is not made thereby a better Christian, Mohammedan or Buddhist, is no true Bahai.

Bahaism formulates no new system of ethics. Rather, it emphatically asserts that the ethics already given in the world's religious literature, and hammered out from the common experience of humanity, are quite sufficient for mankind in any age. The sole point is that the fundamentals of spiritual teaching shall be universally admitted and practically applied to the affairs of daily life and to the development of the social and political life of nations. The great word of Bahaism is Unity.

"War must cease," says Abdul Baha.

There is something above and beyond patriotism, and it is better to love your fellowmen than to love only your countrymen. When we see this, and know in very truth the brotherhood of man, war will appear to us in its true light as an outrage on civilization, an act of madness and blindness.

Baha'u'llah announced this half a century ago, in the slaughter-house of Persia, and it is not less forcible because to-day it is the slogan of Peace Societies in every civilized country in the world. So with other ideals which men are striving to realize. They all form integral parts of the teachings of Baha'u'llah. In a country and at a time when women were held to be soulless chattels, he intensified the persecution from which he suffered by proclaiming the perfect equality of the sexes. "Essential difference in sphere," he said, "in point of view and in service to their joint humanity, but each one of two pillars supporting the arch of life, the necessary complement one of the other." Abdul Baha, true to the Bahai method of keeping up with the times, even approves woman suffrage, saying:

In all questions which concern the welfare of a nation, is not the woman's view as important as the man's if one would get a just and true consideration of all sides of that question? Therefore, I am in favor of votes for women on every subject. This great woman movement which is stirring and vibrating round the whole world is a sign of spirit awakening.

The industrial movement, now at such tension, Abdul Baha declares to be the prelude of a rapidly-approaching era in which the status of the worker shall be free and dignified, and the division of the world's wealth just and equitable to all classes. The teachings of Baha'u'llah touched very lightly upon the domain of politics, but he strongly advocated constitutional government for all countries, and predicted that the new epoch would bring this to pass. A world language

he declared to be one of the inevitable results of the breaking down of national barriers, and essential to the establishment of brotherhood among men. Education of all children must be one of the chief duties of Bahais; of both boys and girls where the resources of the family admitted it, but of girls in any case, as they were the future mothers and trainers of the race and so had the greatest need of knowledge. The other great individual requirement, as commanded by Baha'u'llah and emphasized by his successor, is the learning by both boys and girls of some trade or profession which shall serve as a means of livelihood. All handicrafts are approved, because the training of the hand to useful work is one of the great roads to mental development and spiritual enlightenment.

Abdul Baha lays great stress upon the necessity of a vital and burning faith, says the *Fortnightly Review*, but he has little use for faith without works. Numerous instances are given of questions asked by members of different cults, and his replies, far from encouraging a more or less unproductive mysticism, urged the necessity of proving the value of every theory by practical application. On the other hand, practical, in the sense he uses it, does not in the least mean profitable. One of the most rigid rules of Bahaiism is that no religious teacher shall receive a salary, or payment of any kind, for giving forth the truth as he has received it, but shall support himself and his family by the work of his hands or the practice of some profession.

A full account of the history of the "Bab" and the movement he inaugurated was published in this REVIEW for February, 1909.

THE MEANING OF THE ELECTIONS IN TURKEY

IN these pages, last month, in our editorial department, we recorded the result of the recent general elections in Turkey and pointed out how the Committee of Union and Progress (the Young Turk party) had been triumphantly retained in power.

The Turkish press finds many reasons for this victory of the Young Turks, but considers the most important one as being confidence in the administration in its policy toward the war with Italy. Of course, the Young Turk party is, in itself, very homogeneous. It has an established organization in every section of the Empire, it is well administered and financed, and has proved

itself quite able to hold its own against the so-called "Liberal Entente," a coalition of discontented Unionists, various smaller national groups with decentralized programs, and differing groups of reactionaries. This "Liberal Entente," which really makes up the united opposition to the Young Turks, is composed of voters of such radically different opinions that it did not possess the necessary cohesion to make a successful stand against the Young Turks.

When, on January 18, the Turkish Parliament was dissolved and new elections decreed, the Young Turkish party went before the people for the approval or rejection of its

policies. The result of the balloting shows that the people approve of what the Young Turks have done and what they stand for.

Commenting on the make-up of the new Parliament and the attitude of the administration toward the continuance of the war, the *Jeune Turc*, one of the best known organs of the Young Turk party, says:

Among the reasons which induced Italy to make war on us Turks, the most important was their belief that the Committee of Union and Progress had been weakened by the growing opposition against it, and that the disorder throughout the Empire would force our government to accept Italy's demands. The Italian statesmen were so credulous as to believe that by attacking, in their official declaration, the Committee of Union and Progress, they could gain the sympathy of our people. . . . As can be judged by the known results, the entire country has endorsed the committee; the national will is on the side of the Unionists. . . . This means that the Empire approves the program of Union and Progress. . . . "What was the party's motto at the beginning and during the war? No humiliating peace! No territorial cession! Struggle to the end!" . . . The country does not want any humiliating peace nor territorial cession; it wants to fight to the end.

The *Tanine* (Echo), another well-known Young Turkish journal, speaking on the same subject, says:

The nation has just been consulted. It has pronounced itself unanimously for the program of Union and Progress, which stands for honorable peace and a fight to the end. To-day, the nation and Union and Progress are one.

The Sultan, Mehmed V., himself, in opening the new Parliament, on April 18, and in his speech from the throne, after referring to certain administrative, judicial and constitu-

tional reforms and railroad building, touched in a very firm and courageous manner upon Turkey's foreign policy. He insisted on maintaining, at all costs, his sovereign rights over Crete, and expressed his intention of continuing sincere and friendly relations with the neighbors and European powers, but mentioned that the desire must be mutual and should seem sincere, and that his rights should be respected. He assured the foreign governments that Turkey is strengthening her army and navy for the sole purpose of defending her territory and insuring peace. All this shows Turkey's determination to play her rôle in the concert of the nations in the future in a more respected way than heretofore. Concerning the war, the speech declared:

The war unjustly provoked by Italy and contrary to the principles of international treaties, continues, notwithstanding the general desire for peace all over the world. We wish also peace; but a peace will only end this war on the condition that we maintain effective and integral our sovereign rights.

"This imperial reply to Italy's aggression," says the *Jeune Turc*, by way of comment,

which is the dominant thought of all this speech, and makes of it an historical document, is the answer of the entire nation, whose sentiment and idea the Sultan, in his double capacity of Emperor and Caliph, has interpreted. . . . It is a noble and dignified reply to the provocation of the Italian guns before the forts of the Dardanelles, a reply which the Ottoman nation has expressed to the entire world through the mouth of its venerated Sultan; words calm, dignified, firm, and courageous. . . . We are going to resist to the end with energy and tenacity. . . . We cannot give Italy either a centimeter square of sand, or the economic concession of a hamlet.

WILL EGYPT BECOME THE SEAT OF THE CALIPHATE?

AN Arab paper, the *Afkar*, published in Cairo, recently contained an article which has caused some sensation. It stated that during the prolonged stay there last winter of the former Grand Vizier, Kiamil Pasha, an extraordinary number of Ottoman political men and partisans of the "Party of Liberty and Entente" came to Egypt. These visits, the *Afkar* believes, were not simply caused by the electoral campaign then going on in Turkey, but were explained by the necessity that the leaders of the party should get into touch with the British directors of England's policy in Egypt, Kiamil Pasha, who is what the Turks describe as a *dunmeh*, or Moslem Jew, being a strong partisan of

the British as opposed to the German influence at Constantinople. This paper, the *Afkar*, is, therefore, inclined to think that certain of the Liberal politicians in Turkey are preparing the separation of Turkish Arabia, and increasing thereby, knowingly or unknowingly, the influence exercised in that part of the Ottoman Empire by England.

In this way all the conditions would be established for the founding of an Arabian Caliphate. Now this Arabian Caliphate is well known in Cairo to be an old dream of English policy, which would, through it, extinguish Islamism as a political factor.

This opinion of the Egyptian paper, writes a correspondent at Constantinople, is not

entirely without foundation, as one may see by the papers of the past few weeks. Kiamil Pasha, in his memoir addressed to the Sultan, had already pointed out that by an understanding of England with Egypt, Turkey might easily lose the provinces of Yemen and the Hedjaz and with it the Ottoman Caliphate. An article in the London *Fortnightly Review*, among others, said that the future of Egypt as an integral part of the British Empire would be of the most brilliant description. Endowed with Home Rule, it would occupy a preponderating position among the nations; and if Turkey disappeared, Egypt could easily replace her. She would become the protectress of the Hedjaz and the mistress of Mecca under British protection; and when one thinks of the effect that would be produced on the ninety-four millions of Mussulmans under British rule, the dream seems worth realizing. Egypt would regain its ancient splendor and Syria and Palestine would return under the domination of the Nile country, and all Arabia would be annexed to Egypt. The tribes of Yemen, rebels against the Turks, are ready to submit to England if Turkey falls.

These ideas appear to have produced an effect on certain elements in Egypt. The Arabic paper *El Makattam*, the organ of the British occupation, continually recurs to this question, maintaining that the Caliphate should be held by an Arab, the Emir of Mecca or the Khedive. The *Egyptian Gazette*, a semi-official paper, in a leading article entitled "Syria and Islam," says that the Mussulmans of Syria are beginning to understand how dangerous it is for their religion and language to remain tied to the political destiny of the Turks. On the other side, they can see how Islam develops under the British flag very much better than under the Moslem Turk, and that it would be much more beneficial for them if the Crescent of the Khedive should extend over the country between Cairo and Damascus. A Constantinople paper, commenting on this, points out that all thinking Mussulmans will not fail to understand that a Caliph who is not supported by the bayonets of his own army can only be a mere tool in the hands of his protectors, who desire once for all to destroy the scarecrow of an Islamic world power.

A TRANS-CUBA CANAL TO SUPPLEMENT PANAMA

THE approaching completion of the Panama Canal has brought forward a project for a canal across the island of Cuba, designed to shorten the route between Panama and the principal North Atlantic ports, as well as to foster the internal commerce of Cuba. The *Revista Municipal* of Habana contains an article giving much interesting information in this matter.

As regards Cuban interests alone, this project is by no means of recent date, for a century and a half ago the building of such a canal was proposed to facilitate internal commerce between the ports on the southern and northern coasts of Cuba. As an illustration of the advantages to be attained in this way, we are told that the distance by water between Habana and Cienfuegos would be reduced from 953 miles to about 120 miles.

As far back as 1767, a royal decree notes the receipt by the Spanish government of "new special charts and also a general chart of the north coast of Cuba," relating to the matter of the Cuban canal, and in 1776, the cost of a navigable canal between Habana and the Batabanó river was estimated at

\$1,200,000, a figure that naturally refers to other times and conditions. An old chart in the archives of the Sociedad Económica de Amigos del País, shows the proposed course of a canal along this route, as planned by Francisco and Felix Lemaury in 1798, by order of a royal commission appointed to provide new means for the economic development of the island. Three years earlier, in 1795, the Real Junta de Fomento y Navegación, the department charged with the maintenance and improvement of communications by land and water, advocated the execution of what was even then termed "the old project of the Conde de Macuriges," regarding the construction of "a navigable canal to unite the Güines and Almendares rivers." It provided for the niveling of the tract between these rivers and the dock-yard of Habana, traversing the heights of the Cerro near the Puente de la Zanga.

The proposed Cuban canal received the approbation of Alexander von Humboldt, who expressed himself as follows in his work on Cuba published in the early part of the last century:

I have had the pleasure of visiting, in the company of Señores Lemaur, the plains through which this line of navigation is to pass. The utility of the project is unquestionable, if they are able to secure, in time of drought, a sufficient quantity of water at the dividing point.

At various times, during the Spanish domination, this enterprise was taken into serious consideration, and some preliminary examination of the ground was made, but the political complications in which Spain was involved and the unsettled state of things in Cuba interfered with its accomplishment. Now, however, the interest of the Cubans has been aroused in this matter by the hope and expectation that great advantages would accrue for Cuba if the canal should be constructed. Of this, the writer says:

Cuba is situated immediately in Panama's zone of influence; moreover, its entire length faces the Panama canal, so that an imaginary line drawn between this interoceanic port and New York crosses approximately the middle of the island. . . . This being the case, a Cuban canal, supplementary to that of Panama, might be immediately profitable, as it would have a virtual monopoly of a great part of the vessels passing through the trans-isthmian canal. According to expert opinion, the Cuban route would be the logical one for vessels sailing from New York to Panama. It is also believed that our canal would be used, almost without exception, by vessels sailing from Panama to Europe and to the Atlantic ports of the United States, since shortly after traversing the Panama canal and entering the Caribbean Sea, the strong equatorial current flowing from east to west would oblige them to seek the Strait of Yucatan, in order to avoid sailing against this current, and then to follow the northeastern coast of Cuba, so as to take advantage of the Gulf Stream, up to the Florida Straits. All this would be rendered unnecessary by passing through the Cuban canal, and if by this means there should result a saving, however small, of expense or danger, the ships would take this route, provided the conditions were reasonable.

This Cuban enterprise, essentially national in its grandeur and importance, would require legislative authority, and full discussion in Congress,

whereby the scope of the undertaking and its multiple aspects would be duly considered. Furthermore, it will be necessary to study and determine the constructions and measures contingent to its accomplishment, such as a series of bridges connecting both sides of the canal; promenades and docks along its banks; landing-places; the policing of the canal; the preliminary expropriation by the State of a broad zone stretching from sea to sea along the selected route, and yielding, when utilized for warehouses, railroad and train stations, hotels, etc., a revenue that would cover, to a great extent, the costs of maintenance; finally, the construction of custom-houses, post-offices, buildings for the sanitary service, etc., at the terminals of the canal and at certain points along its course.

That the successful execution of this project would do much to ensure the prosperity of Cuba is the firm conviction of the writer, a conviction he voices in the following terms:

The increase in the value of that part of the Cuban territory near which this canal may pass would be incalculable. Let us only think of the zeal with which the various municipalities and provinces will dispute concerning the route to be selected; and this very rivalry will facilitate the enterprise. Cienfuegos, for instance, will allege that Herrera was right when he said of this port: "It has no rival in the world"; Cárdenas will hasten to canalize its Puerta de Hicacos—something it should long ago have done—so as to place itself in immediate communication with the open Atlantic; Sagua will emphasize its greater proximity to New York, and will complete the clearing of its bar, etc., etc.

In the southern and northern parts of the island, the terminals of the Cuban canal will become cosmopolitan centers, where all languages will be spoken; immense centers of activity, calculated to raise the social and historic significance of the neighboring territory. The army of men to be engaged in the construction of the canal will represent, economically, millions of dollars, and the many great undertakings subsidiary to the canal itself will cause a "river of gold" to flow into our land. Moreover, the prospect of remunerative occupation for so many will serve to counteract undue partisan activity, which will be largely renounced when public order and prosperity rest upon more solid foundations.



CHOOSING BONDS FOR SAFETY

WITH OTHER NEWS OF BUSINESS AND INVESTMENT

The Extraordinary Caution of a Western Merchant

LAST month this magazine made a detailed analysis of the hundreds of letters on investment matters received from inquiring readers since the beginning of the year. One interesting point suggested by it was this: that investors who give the most consideration to the element of safety, when buying bonds, might be divided, roughly, into three general classes:

First, those, in whom the desire for "security first" seems to be inborn; second, those who have acquired the desire through study, or experience; and third, those who, so to speak, have the desire thrust upon them—big institutional investors, like the savings banks and insurance companies, for example, or individuals who carry the responsibility of looking after trust funds.

Of course, the very word, "investment" carries with it the idea of safety, as compared with "speculation," or "gambling." But safety, itself, is relative. The desire for it may, therefore, vary greatly, not only among these three classes of investors, but also among individuals of any one class. It is found, too, that the desire varies with the times.

At present, with the average investor's dinner table giving him so much concern—with the costs of beef, butter, flour and other things the bond owner has to buy, mounting as they have been during the last few weeks, for instance—it is not at all surprising that it should be the common experience of all investment bankers and other financial advisors to find an increasing number, even of their most conservative clients, giving more than the customary thought to the element of income. These are times, at least, when one would scarcely expect to find an investor, in whom the desire for safety apparently had become a passion. Yet the Investment Bureau discovered one such recently.

He is of the second general class described—a man with experience of the sort which is popularly supposed to point the sure way in investment to the ideal combination of safety and income, but which doesn't always work that way. He is a successful merchant in a Western city.

One reason for referring here at some length to his letter of inquiry is that it is strikingly *a propos* of a suggestion once made by a well known New York banker that "success in the delicate and almost instinctive matters of credit does not at all imply a corresponding success in investing money in bonds." In other words, accumulating money is a task, to which business men not infrequently devote all their time and thought, to the exclusion of many other things, of which preparation for the proper investment of that money, subsequently, may not be the least important.

Another reason is that this merchant's questions were of an unusually searching kind—marvels, in fact, for the manner in which they went to the root of the matter he had in mind. It has already been suggested that he was possessed of a passion for extreme safety. He explained that he intended investing several thousand dollars in three per cent Panama Canal bonds. Few would have attempted to go behind the fact that these were United States Government obligations, and that as such, they, were overwhelmingly secure. Yet note the disposition in this case to make assurance double sure. Here are some of the merchant's queries:

Do you think Panama threes will ever sell much lower than their present price?

What effect would the adoption of a new currency or banking plan have on them?

Could the registered and coupon bonds be sold in a few minutes for cash on any business day at about the last quoted price?

In case of a revolution in this country, could the succeeding government repudiate these bonds, or can you imagine a situation where private property, or the bonds of a private corporation would sell higher than Government bonds, the same rate of interest and safety being considered?

Why Gilt Edged Bonds Are Low

CONSIDERATION of the extremely remote possibility—if it may be called even that—suggested by the merchant's last question, may give place for the present to some notice of the other points raised. To them a peculiar timeliness is imparted by certain recent financial happenings.

It was, for instance, highly suggestive that at the very time these questions came to hand, there was going on a world-wide dis-

cussion of the depreciation of the securities of other nations. Rentes, the French Government three percents, had just sold at the "low record price of 91.65 francs; and British consols and German Imperial threes were near their low record prices of modern times."

Economists were busy explaining that these were but transient phenomena, responding to the general rise in the rate which all Governments have to pay for money. The London *Economist*, perhaps the first journalistic authority on the financial affairs of the world, lately pointed out that while, "in each individual country, apart from the causes that have operated without distinction of nationality or locality, there have been special circumstances either aggravating or mitigating the effect of these universal agencies, it has by this time been amply recognized that it is impossible to divert from their course the events which have all tended to open up innumerable opportunities for more profitable investment than home Government stocks (bonds) are able to offer."

United States Government bonds have declined, too. Their fall has been less noticeable, perhaps, because it has been relatively less abrupt. Still it has been considerable. Take the twos of 1930. They are now quoted only slightly above par. Four years ago they sold at 106. So that investors who bought them then have now to figure a loss of \$60 on each \$1000 bond. Yet they are the very investors, who doubtless thought that nothing could be safer than a Government bond.

In these securities, moreover, the decline has taken place in the face of quite special "mitigating circumstances." United States Government bonds have for fifty years enjoyed an almost purely "artificial" market. They have sold, not on their value to investors, but on their necessity to the national banker, as security for his circulating notes, which are more profitable than lending his money directly.

Panama threes are the only exceptions to this. They were sold by the Government last year on an investment basis; that is, it was expressly provided that they should not be available as security for national bank circulation. But it is natural that they should have indirectly reflected the legally devised stimulus given to the credit of the Government by the provisions affecting the other issues; and that they should continue to command prices at which they yield less than three percent. Can there be but one thing to expect, however, when our currency

system is changed, as it may be some day, and business men's notes are substituted for Government bonds as its basis?

Then, all the bonds of this nation will come under the direct influence of whatever "universal agencies" may be affecting the securities of other nations of high credit. If the output of gold continues to increase, as many authorities believe it will,—for some time to come, at least,—the effect on such bonds will, of course, be a further lowering of their prices.

Even now it may be seen how the flow of gold in late years has helped to affect the prices of gilt-edged bonds of other types, such as the old and seasoned issues "next to the rails" of the great railroads—the kind that in America take the place of consols in England and rentes in France. A list of twenty-five representative issues tabulated by *The Wall Street Journal* on the first of last month showed an average decline of over three and a half points since May, 1909.

Higher Yield, Less Risk, Possible Nowadays

A DUTCH statesman had occasion, not long since, in the course of a speech in the Legislature, to make some reference to the cause for the prevailing low prices of gilt edged securities.

He declared that he had never been able to admit the correctness of the argument of the "man in the street" that the fall in prices was due merely to the fact that capitalists now require a higher rate of interest, because of their bigger expenses, heavier taxes, and so on. He is quoted in the *Economist* as saying, "The investor *at all times* has wanted to make the highest rate of interest which he was able to make, and if nowadays he enjoys bigger yields, it is because he is able to get them." The speaker presumably meant, bigger yields without loss of safety.

It is easy enough to imagine that this statesman may have had in mind, as he spoke, the extent to which the capital of his countrymen has, for a good many years, sought investment in securities based upon modern American enterprise. On the whole its security has proved sound, and its yield abundant.

Now, contrast the position of the Dutch investor with that of the Western merchant. How much easier for the latter, with the facilities of so many dependable American investment banking houses at his immediate disposal for the asking, to become a discriminating investor for income substantially

greater than the three percent his Government bonds would yield!

How easy for him—if he wanted to put his money away permanently—to learn about the many bonds which yield more for reasons other than that there is less security behind them,—bonds less known, yet possessing practically everything conducive to investment peace of mind! Such might be picked for him from any one of the four main classes, municipals, railroads, public utilities and industrials.

Or, if the circumstances were such as positively to require securities "that could be sold on any business day (not necessarily on the Stock Exchange) at about the last

quoted price," how easy for him to learn about things like high grade notes, or like railroad equipment bonds, which yield well, whose actual record of safety is astonishing, and whose market is always "ready."

To the student of financial affairs, it becomes increasingly evident, as one authority recently remarked, that the small savings of a large class of people will continue to stand in need of facilities for investment in securities of the Government type. But the successful merchant is of a class for which there is less excuse for finding the principles of discriminating investment for income hopeless mysteries.

The Average Investor's Inclinations

IT takes the exception—like the Western merchant whose timely questions furnished the basis of this month's investment comment—to prove the rule.

American investors, by and large, are becoming each year more alive to the diversity of opportunity offered them to turn their surplus funds to good account.

The analysis of the letters written during the four months ended May 1 last by correspondents of our Investment Bureau are particularly interesting. It visualizes the investment inclinations of a large number of people, representing every walk of life. And it seems to show that after all, the flow of capital from the pocket of the average citizen is furnishing motive power in a pretty equitable way to all forms of American enterprise.

The figures appearing on this page indicate the principal types of investment securities, with which the letters received during the period referred to were concerned, as well as the geographical distribution of the inquiries.

In the following table the entries opposite "California," for instance, means that of the total number of inquiries to the REVIEW OF REVIEWS Investment Bureau from that State, three were concerned with municipal bonds, seven with railroad bonds, four with railroad stocks, two with industrial bonds, five with industrial stocks, eight with public utility bonds, one with real estate bonds, one with mining stocks, and nine with miscellaneous investment questions and securities.

STATE	Municipal Bonds	Railroad Bonds	Railroad Stocks	Industrial Bonds	Industrial Stocks	Public Utility Bonds	Public Utility Stocks	Short Term Notes & Equipments	Real Estate Bonds	Real Estate & Farm Mortgages	Mining Stocks	Miscellaneous	Total
Alabama.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	3	3
Alaska.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	1	1
Arizona.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	1	1
Arkansas.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	4	4
California.	3	7	4	2	5	8	.	.	.	.	.	40	40
Colorado.	.	1	.	1	2	.	.	.	.	.	.	7	7
Connecticut.	.	.	.	1	2	.	.	.	.	.	.	13	13
Delaware.	.	12	12	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	1	1
District of Columbia	.	.	.	1	1	2	12	12	12	12	12	14	14
Florida.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	10	10
Georgia.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	3	3
Idaho.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	11	11
Illinois.	4	6	7	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	58	58
Indiana.	4	3	3	3	3	4	4	4	4	4	4	26	26
Iowa.	2	3	3	12	12	12	12	12	12	12	12	21	21
Kansas.	2	4	2	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	3	3
Kentucky.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	17	17
Louisiana.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	1	1
Maine.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	1	1
Maryland.	1	4	3	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	27	27
Massachusetts.	3	2	2	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	16	16
Michigan.	2	2	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	27	27
Minnesota.	.	.	.	1	2	2	3	3	3	3	3	17	17
Mississippi.	.	.	.	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	29	29
Missouri.	.	1	3	4	2	3	5	2	3	3	3	6	6
Montana.	.	.	.	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	3	3
Nebraska.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	3	3
Nevada.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	10	10
New Hampshire.	2	3	2	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	33	33
New Jersey.	2	3	2	5	6	4	2	2	4	2	1	1	1
New Mexico.	.	.	.	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
New York.	4	7	13	8	19	9	6	4	15	5	6	111	111
North Carolina.	2	1	.	.	3	3	1	1	2	2	2	10	10
North Dakota.	.	.	.	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	4	4
Ohio.	4	3	2	1	8	4	3	3	1	1	1	33	33
Oklahoma.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	1	1
Oregon.	1	.	.	.	.	1	1	1	2	1	4	9	9
Pennsylvania.	6	13	10	11	16	11	4	5	8	3	2	14	103
Rhode Island.	.	.	.	1	.	.	.	1	.	.	.	3	3
South Carolina.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	3	3
South Dakota.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	1	1
Tennessee.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	4	4
Texas.	1	2	2	1	1	1	1	1	2	2	5	18	18
Utah.	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	2	2
Vermont.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	1	1
Virginia.	.	.	.	.	2	.	.	.	.	.	1	5	5
Washington.	1	.	.	4	1	.	.	.	.	.	1	12	12
West Virginia.	.	.	.	4	1	.	.	.	.	.	1	7	7
Wisconsin.	2	1	.	2	2	.	.	.	2	.	1	8	8
Wyoming.	3	4	4	8	2	6	1	1	2	6	3	51	51
Foreign.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	807	807
Total.	50	79	63	60	99	108	28	23	58	52	33	154	807

THE TREND OF POPULAR FICTION

THE popular novels of the present season show clearly that we are at last emerging from the bondage of our appetite for the short story. For the past twenty-five years the short story has been the obstacle that has prevented the growth and the perfecting of the American novel. During the past decade the demand for tabloid fiction increased so amazingly that publications were created solely to satisfy the voracious American appetite for the short story. The novel became a commercialized product and its production became a trade. Almost any person of education, with a reasonable facility in the use of ordinary English, could, with some attention to excellent models, turn out a narrative that might be published as a novel. To discover that most of the popular novels offered were nothing more than amplified short stories, it is only necessary to compare their content with the content of some of the old favorites that would have come in their time under the heading of popular novels,—for instance, "Ivanhoe" or "The Cloister and the Hearth." We demanded no more from these hybrid novels than we demanded from our short stories. Their length was to be such that we might easily skim them over in a brief space of time; we asked that they should carry us on to one vivid, thrilling climax, and that they should not tax our understanding or bring any troublesome problems for our consideration. Consolation and amusement were their only functions. We kept the minds of children in our attitude toward fiction; we wanted some one to tell us a story and then we wanted some one to tell us another story.

THE ADVENT OF THE SERIOUS POPULAR NOVEL

Now, in the spring of this year of 1912, there is discernible an increasing number of novels, which, while still retaining the elements of popularity that appeal to the masses and cause them to be listed among the "best-sellers," are distinctly books for those who think,—well-rounded, leisurely pieces of fiction.

It is not logical to expect that we shall perhaps ever again produce a novel of the particular quality of "The Scarlet Letter." The America of to-day is not the background that vivified the atmosphere of Hawthorne's masterpiece. "The Scarlet Letter" chronicled the life of a colony in a province as yet unsubdued and subject to strange incidents of life,—a province whose settlers were half-fearful of their domain and wholly unknowing of the intensity of their future. Because of our great development as a nation, because of the storm and the turbulence necessary to this development, our fiction has become like troubled waters over which it has been difficult to discern any dove flying with the olive branch of reassurance.

Now that we have turned from our short-story gluttony toward more serious types of fiction, it is possible to gain a reasonable perspective over the entire field of popular fiction, to perceive its art in kind, and discern the trend of its current. It is not to be denied that the popular novel makes tremendous sacrifices to the gods of the moment. It is written largely for to-day alone. With to-morrow, its idols are thrown down, its citadels

conquered; it makes way for the next inflated pig-skin; it has not won even a place in a respectable oblivion. This, too, in the face of the fact that it contains much excellent material, that it abounds in philosophy, satire, epigram, aphorism, metaphor, and paradox, that it has magnificent situations and astounding plots. With all this, nevertheless, it lacks the power to touch our hearts and, like clang-ing brass, makes a noise over our heads and is forgotten. It is written hurriedly, published hurriedly, and forgotten in the same tempo.

THE LACK OF A TRAINED CRITICAL INTELLIGENCE

The dearth of a well-trained critical intelligence has been a hindrance to the growth of the novel in this country. Even from the ranks of those who have been for some time recognized as critics and reviewers of fiction, there has been little offered that compares favorably with European reviews of current literary productions. From the reviews of a certain book of the season in nine prominent newspapers, the following phrases are selected:

"A striking book—wonderful inspiration and power—astounding fertility—marvelous power and originality—a great work—a wealth of ideas—idealistic—near the stars—absorbing, astounding, inspiring, baffling—marks of genius constantly."

Is there much opportunity left for self-study and improvement in the field of literary artistry under this flood of fulsome flattery from the reviewers? It is the duty of the critic to hold a mirror to the face of art—to reveal the fruit to the tree, not to be pleasant and flattering at the expense of truth.

THE DEMAND FOR EXCELLENT CHARACTERIZATION

The ever increasing demand for biography in this country is a symptom of the lack of striking characterization in our fiction. Now the delineation of character in a biography compared to that which may be given in a novel is like comparing an early Italian fresco painted in flat tones to the portraits of a Goya or Frans Hals. For certain obvious reasons the biographer may not lay aside respect for the conceded reserves of life in his pen-portraits. A biography is the mere skeleton of a personality. Even Boswell could not tell everything. Samuel Pepys' Diary is the nearest thing we have to the picture of a living, breathing man endowed with mind and spirit, and we know that Pepys' Diary was written in cipher and never intended for publication.

THE NOVELIST UNDER NO RESTRAINT

The novelist labors under but little restraint in the matter of characterization; he is at liberty to reveal delicious actualities because he is dealing solely with the phantoms of his own creative fancy. There may be more veracity to life in his art than in a thousand biographies. This is the great reason why the novel has never lost its hold upon the public—its verisimilitude to life. The novel alone gives us the picture of the interplay of human emotion in the relations of life, clarified and in many cases injected, as it were, with the personality of the author.

MR. JAMES' AND MR. H. G. WELLS' QUALIFICATION
OF THE NOVEL

Mr. Henry James has said that the novel gives us "a feeling for human relation as the social climate of our country qualifies, intensifies, generally conditions and colors it—an exquisite notation of our whole democratic light and shade." Mr. H. G. Wells hails contemporary fiction as "the social mediator, the vehicle of understanding, the instrument of self-examination, the parade of morals and the exchange of manners, the factory of customs, the criticism of laws and institutions and of social dogmas and ideas. It is to be the home confessional, the initiator of knowledge and the seed of fruitful self-questioning." With these wholesome ideals before us there can be but little fear as to the eventual standards of the American novel.

WILL ROMANTIC FICTION SURVIVE?

Some concern has been expressed for the survival of the romantic and adventurous type of popular fiction. There has been a prediction that when the surface of the earth became a well-cultivated garden, that our novels would become as tame and spiritless as the barnyard fowl. Only the gushing type of light fiction has owed more than a small debt to its environment. The hair-breadth escapes of dare-devil heroes adrift in un-

tried lands have only the passing charm of novelty. The jungles of our human desires and emotions, the interplay of man's hundred selves built into his present bodily structure by the tedious process of evolution, will forever afford sufficient material for stirring fiction.

THE EFFECT OF ENVIRONMENT UPON THE FORM OF FICTION

The softening of our physical environment will in time temper the form of the popular novel. Our flamboyant plots and our structural crudities will disappear with the equalizing of physical environment. That we shall lose something of freshness of originality is true, but we shall gain in more ways than we lose. The problems of urban life have evolved a type of fiction which in many ways parallels that which gathered its material from the heart of old London. Our vast admixture of foreign population has already changed not only the form, the technique of our fiction, by bringing into it European influences, but it has wonderfully broadened and seasoned it. All that our environment has ever been in the past, the entire history of our nation, is minutely etched upon the pages of our novels by invisible fingers. Concord, Lexington, the Monroe Doctrine, Gettysburg, the battle with the Western desert, are subtly shadowed forth in all that is written by Americans.

PICKED FRUIT: A STUDY IN CURRENT FICTION

AMONG the new books of fiction that have come under observation this spring, an even half-dozen seem to rank far ahead of the rest in artistic and spiritual significance. It is gratifying to note that one-half of them are American, while the other half are English. The three produced on our own side of the ocean are Gertrude Atherton's "Julia France and Her Times" (Macmillan), Dorothy Canfield's "The Squirrel Cage" (Holt), and Owen Johnson's "Stover at Yale" (Stokes). The three coming to us from the other side are Algernon Blackwood's "The Centaur" (Macmillan), John Trevena's "Bracken" (Kennerley), and G. K. Chesterton's "Manalive" (Lane).

A comparison between the two groups suggests itself naturally, but to be profitable it must be a comparison of tendencies rather than of values. It would be hard to pick out a volume from either group, or from both groups together, that could be placed positively above the rest. In worth, if this be based on a balance struck from many special considerations, they stand pretty close together. But in other ways they differ conspicuously, and the works of each group differ more radically from those of the other group than from the other works within the same group.

The essential spirit of the American novels under consideration may be called social, that of the English cosmic. The former deal, on the whole, with man's relation to other men and to their

institutions of common making, while the latter are more concerned with his relationship to life in general, or in its entirety. The ground note of the American books is still that of the previous century. They must, in the last instance, be classed as naturalistic—but it cannot be done without strong reservations, for all of them show a marked waning of that skeptical materialism which was so characteristic of the fiction rooted in the latter half of the nineteenth century. The three English books, on the other hand, are frankly Neo-Romantic—a term that will have to be used mainly for lack of a better one—because in them the mystical and spiritual note is once more openly triumphant. Put into less abstract terms, this means that our American authors have their eyes chiefly on life as it is, while the Englishmen are seeking more eagerly to discover the seeds of the future beneath the concrete reality of the moment.

The representation of the sexes within the two groups has a significance of its own. Two of the American novels are written by women, while all of the English ones are of male origin. These proportions might be accidental, of course, but a glance at the field in its entirety proves that, in this respect as well as others, our groups remain representative. In England a new literature is springing up beyond all doubt—one that looks as if it might make history. In this literature woman appears in a new light—neither raised on a pedestal nor trailed in the mud, but walking side by side with man as his equal in a double sense, socially and

biologically. But this literature is almost wholly "man-made."

Here, on our side of the ocean, the same signs of coming larger things are also visible, and here they are also accompanied by a similar rectification of our view on woman's place and part in life. But here it is the women themselves who are bringing us both the promises and the clearer light. It has long been a reproach to our fiction that it was so largely feminine both in its origin and its appeal. Now it looks as if what was a menace might become an inspiration and a hope. For while it is hard to discover American men equaling Mrs. Atherton and Miss Canfield (now Mrs. John R. Fisher) in width of vision, depth of sympathy, and sense of consecration, there are many other women striving in the same spirit, although perhaps more humbly or less successfully. And the "new note"—of simplicity, of sincerity, of valuation by use rather than appearance—which they are sounding, seems to promise us an art which, like the religion surely bound to come out of the future, will be for everyday use, and not for holiday exhibition.

For other novels written by a woman and having the scope and power

of Mrs. George Sand

An American Atherton's, we must hark back to George Eliot, George Sand, and Mme. de Staël. And of the earlier George Sand one is frequently reminded while reading "Julia France." Some may think this coupling of names disparaging to the living author. It is far from being so in the writer's mind. With all her faults, George Sand had a power

and a passion, a scope of outlook and audacity of spirit, that go far to explain why the earlier half of the last century used to be named after her. Those big qualities of George Sand belong also to Mrs. Atherton—as do some of the former's extravagances. In her book we are dealing with real life, conceived on a large scale—life so broadly inclusive that it may touch such fanciful phenomena as Eastern occultism, or such recent facts as the spread of Bahaiism, the Persian cult of which mention is made elsewhere in this REVIEW, without losing its hold or its dignity.

It is the story of a woman's growth from eighteen to thirty-four, but into this story have been woven not only other lives but much of what goes to the making of our own time. Any attempt to reduce its abundance of vital observation within the confines of a single, neatly rounded idea must fail; but it would probably be safe to say that its chief preoccupation is with the interrelationship of love and work in woman's life. In the main, it is perhaps a woman's book, but one that

should particularly be read by men—lest they fail to realize what the time is fraught with.

"The Squirrel Cage" comes as a surprise. Miss Canfield's success as a writer of entertaining and salable short stories has foreshadowed next to nothing of what makes this book

A Story of Brilliant Promise so important. The theme of Miss Canfield's novel is not merely the relation of husband and wife with each other, but rather that of both to the pressure resulting from our peculiar form of economical and social organization. And the charge implied in it is that "business"—the god of the national cult—is not only a Serpent tempting men astray, but a Moloch swallowing them alive. One might with some justification describe "The Squirrel Cage" as a presentation of Thorstein Veblen's economic theories in fiction form. But to conclude that it is, primarily, a tract or a treatise would be a mistake, indeed. First and last, it is a dramatic, yet far from melodramatic, story of strongly individualized human beings of the kind we see around us daily.

"What I criticize here I criticize in American life," says Brockhurst in **A Criticism of "Stover at the American Yale"—and Spirit**

Brockhurst is supposed to have been modeled from Mayor Hunt of Cincinnati. The words might as well have been applied by Mr. Johnson to his own book. Nominally he is dealing with university life and with certain disturbing tendencies within it. In reality he, like Miss Canfield, is analyzing and criticizing the spirit animating our entire nation. His conclusions differ little from those arrived



DOROTHY CANFIELD
(Whose new novel, "The Squirrel Cage," is noticed on this page)

at by Miss Canfield. Selfish competition is what he finds at the bottom of our ills. The remedy he seeks in individual rather than in social action. His diagnosis may be as wrong as his remedy is vague, and yet the spirit of the book cannot be denied recognition. For it is one of those—there being now an increasing number of them—through which we are drawing perceptibly nearer to that most dreaded and despised of literary chimeras: the poetry of thought. Discussion, which Shaw has already introduced on the stage, is now being introduced into the realm held most inaccessible to it—the American novel. And Mr. Johnson has shown us, too, that it is possible to combine such an achievement with a spirit of adventurousness almost Stevensonian.

As to Mr. Johnson's picture of Yale life, opinions differ. The present Senior class at Yale stoutly maintains that "Stover" misrepresents the university. Of the replies to questions about the book sent to members of the class, only 9 per cent. admitted its truth, while 5 per cent. were in doubt.



OWEN JOHNSON

From the figure of Stover to that of O'Malley in the "The Centaur" is a leap of many thousand years—whether forward or backward the reader will have to decide for himself.

Fantasy or Gospel The book is as daring in conception as it is artistic in execution. And if it suffer from a certain vagueness and an unmistakable redundancy in spots, these slight defects must be traced back to the subtlety of its theme. It is the romance of "cosmic consciousness"—of man's instinctive sense of kinship with the secret forces that make and maintain both men and worlds. Fantastic beyond endurance it will seem to many, while to others it may appear like a new gospel. Between these extremes the truth will probably be found—and this truth is more than suggested by Mr. Blackwood when he makes O'Malley insist repeatedly that his strange experiences had been spiritual rather than physical.

Trevena's "Bracken" is mystical in a sense quite different from that applicable to "The Centaur," and yet the two books overlap largely.

Another Mystical Tale Back of both lie the discoveries of modern psychology in the regions of the subconscious. Both deal at bottom with "divisions of personality." But Mr. Trevena looks ahead where Mr. Blackwood is inclined to look back. Though nearer to our own moment in many ways, "Bracken" is really more fantastic, and probably also more unreal. And yet it is wonderfully suggestive, telling us, as it

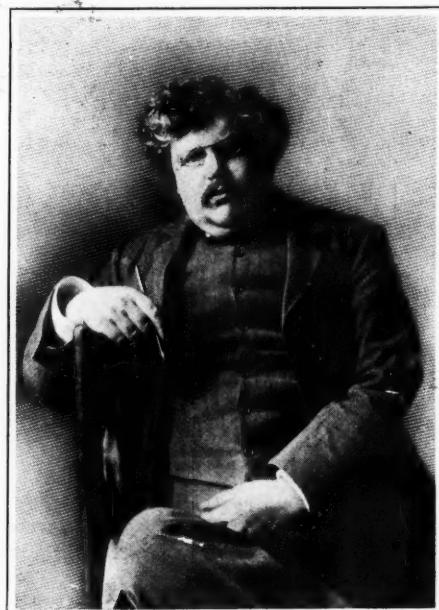
does, of the fearful power which one human mind may exercise in the reshaping of another. It has, too, a quaintness of imagery and address which adds to its charm most of the time, though not always.

The critics have had a bad time with Mr. Chesterton's "Manalive" and have even gone to the extent of begging him to desist from that kind of thing. It would be a pity if he **Mr. Chesterton's** listened to them, for his book, "Preachment" though exaggerated in its drollery of plot and phrase, is among the most refreshing and stimulating that have been offered us for a long while. Its text is: "Break the conventions and keep the commandments." The purpose of its humorous symbolism is to indicate that man remains alive only as long as he preserves the mental flexibility and impressionability of youth.

While sex plays rather too small a part in "Stover at Yale," it runs rampant in Reginald Wright Kauffman's "The Sentence of Silence" (Moffat, Yard & Co.). And while

The Sex Question all the six books mentioned above tend toward a new, more spiritual, less photographic realism, Mr. Kauffman's one ambition seems to lie in the closest possible reversion to Zola at his worst. In fiction he is apparently trying to do what Brieux has done in the drama, and the result is not attractive. But there can be little doubt that he is telling the truth, and telling it with a fine purpose in mind. And much should be forgiven him for the climax to which the whole book leads up—showing in a flash that men who can overlook everything in themselves can pardon women nothing.

Hopelessly timid beside this rash venture seems the attempt of Jeanne Bartholow Magoun, in "The Mission of Victoria Wilhelmina" (Huebsch), to deal with another phase of the sex question—



GILBERT K. CHESTERTON

that of extra-marital motherhood. But there is encouragement in the very fact that an author of unmistakable sentimentality and no originality should feel compelled to deal with such a theme at all. Both Mr. Kauffman and Mrs. Magoun might profit by the study of W. L. George's "A Bed of Roses" (Brentano), where a strong-minded woman's progress through prostitution to economic independence and social respectability is outlined with an artistic restraint that renders sensationalism and sentimentalism equally out of the question.

Emerson Hough's "John Rawn" (Bobbs-Merrill) belongs in the "Monte-Cristo" order, but in spite of its plausibility and the undoubted candor of its author it sins in a manner that would have made Dumas weep: by substitution of dreary comment for self-revealing action and talk in the upbuilding of its characters. And yet a similar tendency in Richard Pryce fails to rob his "Christopher" (Houghton, Mifflin) of its delightful appeal—which proves that what matters in art is not what you do but how you do it.

Mr. Pryce belongs naturally with W. J. Locke and Leonard Merrick, although he is a little more serious than either of them. All three of these

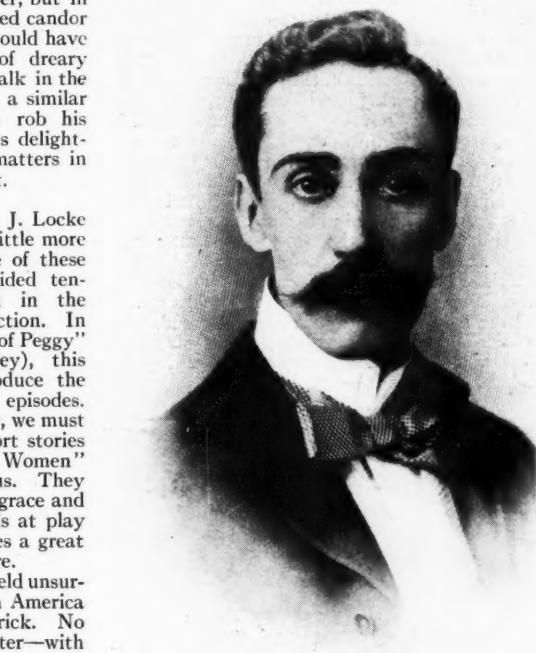
Short Stories authors stand for a decided tendency toward Gallicism in the construction of English fiction. In

Mr. Merrick's two novels, "The Position of Peggy" and "The Actor-Manager" (Kennerley), this tendency seems to have failed to produce the expected results, except in occasional episodes. To discover what it may actually achieve, we must turn to the same writer's volume of short stories named "The Man Who Understood Women" (Kennerley). These stories are delicious. They would need no other warrant than their grace and suppleness, reminding one of young girls at play in a field, but at the bottom of them lies a great deal of genuine insight into human nature.

The American short story is popularly held unsurpassed. Yet one can think of no one in America writing with the delicate touch of Merrick. No more can one think of any American writer—with the possible exception of Mrs. Wharton—who might be capable of giving us the feast of intellectual laughter to be harvested from L. P. Jacks's "Among the Idolmakers" (Holt), or the marvelous construction of character, local and personal, observed in the stories making up Arnold Bennett's volume, "The Matador of the Five Towns" (Doran). In the latter collection we would especially call attention to "The Death of Simon Fuge" as a masterpiece in the evocation of both physical and spiritual atmosphere. Of course, we have Jack London, whose "The House of Pride" (Macmillan) certainly shows the true story-teller's touch, and Gouverneur Morris, who, even when he writes unashamedly for "bread-and-butter," as in "It and Other Stories" (Scribner), commands our respect for the deftness of his workmanship. Both could undoubtedly do as well as the Englishmen recently named, if not better, but they are not

doing it. And back of their failure lies after all nothing but lack of sincerity, of persistence in aspiration, whether this ennobling quality be voluntarily thrown aside or regretfully surrendered under pressure from without.

There was a rare thrill in the announcement that an unpublished novel by Balzac had been discovered and was at last to be given to the world. The thrill vanished when the book appeared. It seems little likely that the great Frenchman wrot-



LEONARD MERRICK

(One of the few successful present-day writers of short stories)

"Love in a Mask" (Rand, McNally), and if he did write it, the work must date back to those years before "The Chouans," when he had not yet "found" himself. No such disappointment accompanies the reading of another posthumous work, the publication of which had been expected with no less eagerness. The wonderful simplicity of Leo Tolstoy's "Hadji-Murád" (Dodd, Mead & Co.), its realism based not on indiscriminate enumeration but on symbolical selection, its directness that takes us straight to the heart of life—these are qualities from which even the foremost of our living writers have still their lesson to learn.

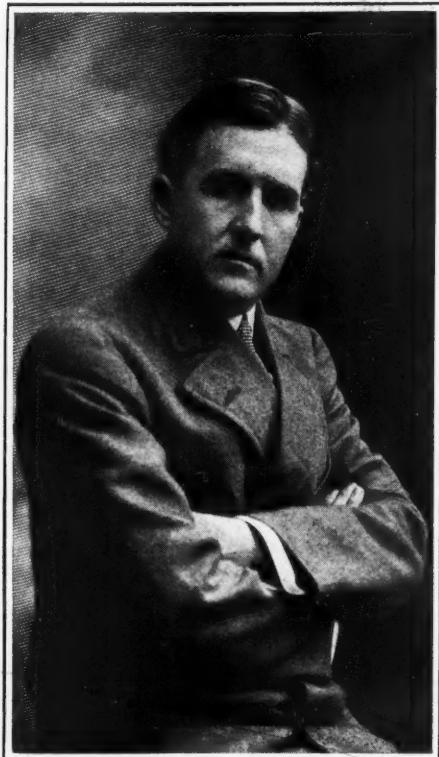


POPULAR NOVELS AND SHORT STORIES

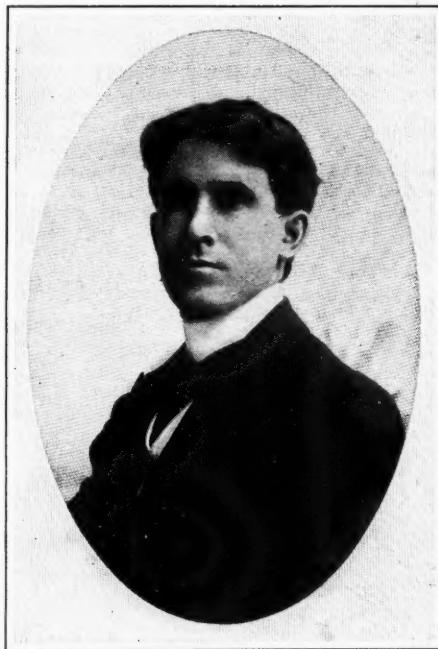
THE YOUNGER AMERICAN SCHOOL

"JAPONETTE" or "The Turning Point," by Robert Chambers, is a clever, artificial novel of American social life, abounding in brilliant dialogue.

The thread of the story is flimsy and American Types a sense of reality is lacking in the characterizations. It is difficult to realize that the author, of "Japonette" once wrote those volumes of exquisite short stories—"The Maker of Moons" and "The King in Yellow." The commercialization of the popular novel has not laid such a withering hand upon Meredith Nicholson. His new novel, "A Hoosier Chronicle" (Houghton, Mifflin), while in an entirely new manner for this author, very nearly approaches the ideal for an American novel. Perhaps this is because Mr. Nicholson has chosen to write of the intimate things concerning life in his own State, but may it not be partly due to the fact that the interests of the book cluster around the old-fashioned, sturdy, American ideals and around the adaptation of the American character to meet the enormous changes and the needs of the present era? Assuredly, this Hoosier-born poet and novelist knows his Middle West, and to say that is very near to saying that he knows twentieth-century America.



MEREDITH NICHOLSON
(Author of "A Hoosier Chronicle")



ZANE GREY

To go back to the Utah of the year 1871, we have a strange, wild romance of the strife between the Mormon and the Gentile over the cattle ranges of the Mormon country,—Zane Grey's *Mormonism in the '70's* ("Riders of the Purple Sage" (Harpers). It is exaggerated fiction, but it is not servile to any European model; it brings us to the top of a desert hill whence we can see the long, level stretches of mesa stained with the "purple sage." The ruthlessness of Mormonism in that period of western development is laid bare with great accuracy and the literary artistry of the book is superior to that of many that have been praised above it.

Since Boston has begun the "return to Beacon Hill" several novels have appeared which have their scenes laid partially on that historic ground.

"The Green Vase," by William Cas-Varied Scenes tle, Jr. (Dodd, Mead), and "The and Incidents Heart of Us," by T. R. Sullivan (Houghton, Mifflin) are among their numbers. "The Stake," by Jay Cady (Jacobs) is a well-written story of the New England coast. For crispness and originality John Breckinbridge Ellis' "Fran" (Bobbs, Merrill) is a lively bit of recent story-telling. Fran is a young lion-tamer who drops down upon her father, a hypocritical clergyman who doesn't know of her existence. He doesn't want Fran; nobody seems to want Fran, but she proceeds to make a place for herself and incidentally cures her father of the habit of hypocrisy. The book is immensely entertaining, al-

though technically the execution of the narrative is not as brilliant as the theme.

Several preachments have been issued this spring in the form of novels. "Wild Oats," by James Oppenheim (Huebsch), is a warning to young men of the ultimate misery that results from the sowing of "wild oats."

POPULAR HISTORICAL NOVELS

The historical novel occupies a place of its own in the lists of popular fiction. The story that is *true* is of different parentage from the story that is *imaginary*. The historical novel is

Seven "True" Stories rooted far back in the soil of Anglo-

Norman epic romance. Seven excellent historical novels are among the spring publications. Of these, the most virile is the English prize novel, "Beyond The Law," by Miriam Alexander (Putnams). Such judges as W. J. Locke, A. C. Benson, and A. W. E. Mason chose this book out of a large number submitted as superior to all others. It is a story of Ireland under William of Orange written entirely from the Irish point of view, and alive with the Celtic passion for personal freedom.

"The Return of Pierre" (Holt) brings us to the scenes of the Franco-Prussian War. It is a fine study of military tradition, of the heroism and grimness of actual war. The author is Donal Hamilton Haines. Another story of France, "The Burgundian," by Marion Polk Angelotti (Century), carries us into the atmosphere of old-fashioned romance and adventure in the beautiful Provençal country and in the Paris of the mad king, Charles the VI. "The Lonely Queen," by H. C. Bailey (Doran) gathers together the incidents of the life of Queen Elizabeth, and Charles E. Major, in "The Touchstone of Fortune" (Macmillan), turns our eyes to bygone England in the reign of Charles II. Mr. Major's narrative has great vivacity of style and conscientious technique. Nell Gwyn, Sara Jennings and John Churchill are among the characters. Two interesting and genial historical novels are "God and the King," by Marjorie Bowen (Dutton), and "The Noble Rogue," by Baroness Orczy (Doran).

FOREIGN TALES

Women are at the fore in the production of popular French fiction. There are the excellent novels (as yet untranslated) of Mme. Jacques

Morian. "Le Tournant," her latest French and German Tales work adapts the Christian doctrine of resignation to the complexities of

modern life. Two French novels in excellent translation, are from the pen of that brilliant Frenchwoman who writes under the pen-name of Pierre Le Coulevain. "Eve Triumphant" (Putnams), which is the story of two American women in Europe, gained the distinction of being crowned by the French Academy. The American woman under Madame Pierre's manipulations emerges from the confusion of an international marriage a sensible, determined figure who adapts herself to the complex racial standards of her adopted country. "The Heart of Life" (Putnams), more recently published, purports to be the tranquil journal of the author kept during her residence at Lausanne, Baden, and St. Gervais, but biological and religious discussions hold the thread of a charming love story. Madame Pierre is idealistic; she looks forward: "The nineteenth century saw humanity;



MIRIAM ALEXANDER

which century will see life? Which century will see God?" she asks.

A German woman, Margaret Böhme has chosen a great dry-goods emporium for the setting of her novel, "The Department Store" (Appletons). The "big shop" is the property of Herr Joshua Mullenmeister in Berlin. If romance suffers in the process of the portrayal of the rush and surge of humanity both before and behind the counters, at any rate the sacrifice is made to reality. Several frivolous, heartless women are cleverly sketched in the midst of the whirlwinds they reap from the winds of their own sowing.

G. A. Birmingham, the Irish novelist, is not very well known in this country. A group of his novels are offered this spring in a uniform edition (Doran),

"Spanish Gold" is a whimsical and delightful tale of how the Curate of Ballymoy and his friend the Major sail away to find a lost galleon of the Spanish Armada. In "The Simpkins Plot," the story hangs on a droll error by this selfsame Curate of Ballymoy, and incidentally there is a humorous and sparkling portrayal of Irish character. "Lalage's Lovers" is a story of an audacious Irish tomboy of a girl and "The Search Party" is the story of a mysterious stranger at Clonmore who formed the habit of kidnaping. Mr. Birmingham's novels are not of the popular commercial type; they are delightful, humorous stories with which

An Irish Writer's Work



G. A. BIRMINGHAM

one may read to the end of restfulness and refreshment of mind.

The English novel, "Carnival," by Compton Mackenzie (Appletons), has been a noteworthy novel of the season in America as well as in England. It gives the life of a girl who grows up in the ranks of a London ballet school and becomes a chorus girl. She is not wayward, only a light-hearted little creature who loves life and who is impulsive without having very much wisdom. Mr. Harold Begbie author of many helpful books and novels, publishes "The Challenge" (Doran), a story dealing with the life of a woman in India, the main theme being the rebirth of a moral consciousness from the psychological standpoint. "The Drunkard," by Guy Thorne (Sturgis & Walton), is a powerful study of the downward course of a brilliant man of letters who has become an inebriate. It is a document rather than a novel. It fulfills the purpose of a tract on temperance, which is the end of its usefulness as outlined by the author.

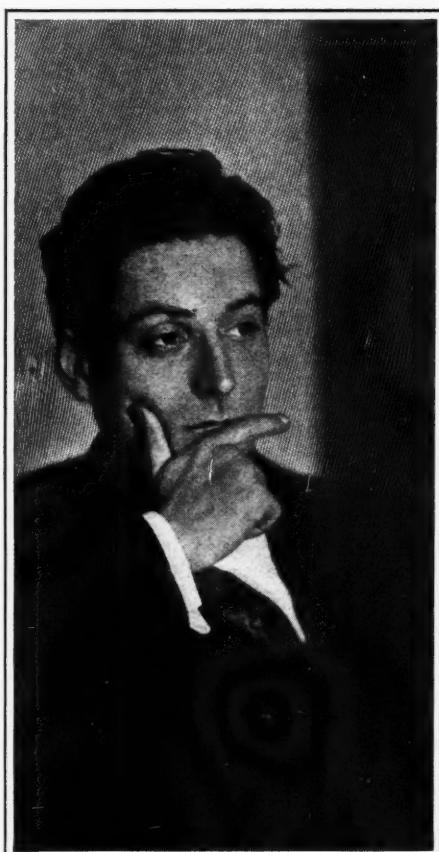
POPULAR NOVELS BY AMERICAN WOMEN

The large sales of Anne Douglas Sedgwick's "Tante" (Century) afford evidence of the growth of popular taste for serious fiction. "Tante," without being a truly great novel, has all the qualities of greatness—a dignified theme, excellent characterization, brilliant technique, and intellectual abundance. Madame Von Marnitz (Tante), the half-Polish, half-Spanish genius, the "world's greatest pianist," and her companion Mrs. Talcott, the Maine woman with the "wallet" face, as characterizations are not cast into obscurity by even the

creations of Dickens. They stand out in sharp bas-relief against the general movement of the novel; they have joined the long procession of the enduring personages of fiction. Tante, the genius, voices the creed of the dominant self that sweeps away all obstacles that hinder its triumphant progress: the other speaks the creeds of the selfless, the meek, whose souls "inherit the earth."

The analysis of the causes of marital unrest is, in varying phases, the theme of many of the season's novels from the pens of women. "Joseph in Jeopardy," by Frank Danby (Mrs.

Unrest in Married Life Julia Frankau), is an argument as to whether modern marriage is a kind of imprisonment with the husband and wife on parole and the servants as "warders," or whether for other than moral malefactors it is the larger freedom, the way out of infinite alarms and perplexities. The "Joseph" of the book is Dennis Passifull, an Englishman "in trade," who marries rather blindly the exceedingly plain and domestic daughter of his wealthy employer. When the first novelty of marriage has yielded to the routine of domesticity, he becomes involved in a flirtatious affair with the beautiful Lady Diana Wayne, who possesses all the feminine charms save one. This one the charm of innate refinement and purity



COMPTON MACKENZIE

of heart, brings the husband release from his infatuation.

"The Marriage Portion," by Mrs. H. A. Mitchell Keays, brings out the truth that there is rarely anything so complicated or so incompatible in the relations of two people who are married, that courage and faith and patience will not ultimately transmute to peace and happiness. The novelist gives us a picture of the inner life of a young wife who has been married before the ripened maturity of her emotional nature. Because of this, coupled with the fact that her husband is engrossed in business affairs and treats her like a child, she falls in love with another man and confesses the fact to her husband. He does not, because of this confession, turn away from his duty; to him marriage is indissoluble. He shields her from harm and the consequences of her folly and in the end wins her whole heart to himself by his tenderness and love.

The idyllic, barefoot heroine of the backwoods districts of our mountain country is a type that is swiftly giving place to the audacious and piquant city bread heroine. "The

A Backwoods Mountain Girl" by Payne Erskine (Little, Brown), brings the barefoot girl in homespun,—Cassandra of Carew's Crossing, North Carolina,—to an exalted position as the châtelaine of Daneshed Castle, England. Cassandra is not wholly plausible but she is human and delightful.

Mary Wilkins Freeman offers a thin piece of edifying fiction in "The Butterfly House" (Dodd,



PAYNE ERSKINE

(Mrs. Emma Payne Erskine, author of "The Mountain Girl")



ANNE DOUGLAS SEDGWICK
(Author of "Tante")

Mead), which records the little airs, graces, and hypocrisies of a northern community. Mrs. Cora Harris rather more brilliantly **Miscellany** forms the same office for a lazy, Southern town in "The Recording Angel" (Doubleday, Page). "To M. L. G." (Stokes), is a striking book, written in the first person, that has nearly reached the record of "Tante" for popularity. Its simple, direct narrative gives it a certain resemblance to Marie Claire. The story is autobiographical and narrates the events in the life of a neglected little girl, the child of two wandering vaudeville actors, "Boy" and "Dearie," who grows up amid sordid surroundings and becomes a famous actress. Among the delightful and consoling novels with simple love themes are Myrtle Reed's "A Weaver of Dreams" (Putnams). "The Man in Lonely Land," by Kate Langly Bosher (Harpers); "Through the Postern Gate," by Florence Barclay (Putnams), and "Sidney," a story of the South, by Modeste Hannis Jordan (Cosmopolitan Press).



TIMELY NEW BOOKS

A REAL sensation in the educational world has been created by the methods in teaching very young children used by Dr. Maria Montessori, an Italian educator at Rome. Dr.

A New Method in Teaching Montessori's ideas, as worked out by herself and her followers in Italy and France, have been the subject of a number of magazine articles. Now we have the authoritative story of "The Montessori Method," written by the author of it herself, and translated from the Italian by Anne E. George.¹ It is difficult to get an

the regular system. This book, which is an authorized translation, contains the author's method fully set forth. There are a number of illustrations.

Under the title "Anti-Suffrage,"² Grace Duffield Goodwin, president of the association of the District of Columbia which is opposed to woman suffrage, has given what she calls **Anti-Suffrage Arguments** "ten good reasons" why the modern American woman does not need, and should not, in the name of patriotism, demand the right to the ballot. The substance of Mrs. Goodwin's argument is that the burden of proof for such a radical change as woman suffrage would bring about, rests with the sponsors of such a change. They are under the necessity, she says, of proving to American women that their present condition is evil, and also that universal adult suffrage would be the panacea. This, she believes, the suffragists have not done and cannot do. If women are really in earnest, she concludes, they can secure without the ballot whatever they are willing to work for in the way of influence or legislation.



DR. MONTESSORI GIVING A LESSON IN GEOMETRY TO ONE OF HER LITTLE GIRL PUPILS IN ROME

adequate idea of Dr. Montessori's ideas from the magazine articles which have appeared. In this book the subject is treated exhaustively and lucidly. The views on childhood of this modern educator are similar to those of the famous Froebel, only more radical. "Both defend the child's right to be active, to explore his environment, and develop his own inner resources through every form of investigation and creative effort. Education is to guide activity, not repress it. . . . The Montessori pupil does about as he pleases as long as he does not do any harm." The quoted words are from the introduction to the book by Professor Henry W. Holmes, of Harvard. It is reported that by the Montessori method children of four have learned to write in six weeks. When pupils of this system are transferred to the regular schools it is stated that they are much better prepared than the older pupils of

environment, make this little volume very graphic and appealing. Mr. Copping is very optimistic about Canada. He sees in the great Northwest of the Dominion the solution to many of Europe's social problems. One of his most entertaining chapters treats of the position of the new women settlers in the Canadian Far West.

In his seventy-fifth year John Muir, for more than half a century a devoted student and explorer of the mountain regions of our Pacific coast, has brought out a new book on the

About the Yosemite "the most magnificent enthusiast about nature in the United States, the most rapt

¹Anti-Suffrage. By Grace Duffield Goodwin. Duffield & Co. 142 pp., 50 cents.

²Canada The Golden Land. By Arthur E. Copping. George H. Doran Co. 263 pp., ill. \$1.50.

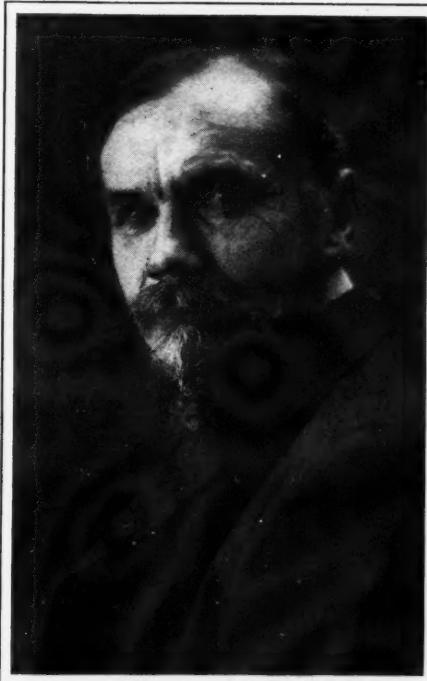
³The Yosemite. By John Muir. The Century Company. 284 pp., ill. \$2.40.

¹The Montessori Method. By Dr. Maria Montessori. Translated by Anne E. George. Frederick A. Stokes Co. 377 pp., port. \$1.75.

of all prophets of our out-of-door gospel." In this book he sets down something of his experiences and feelings during many years of what he calls "happy wanderings through his marvelous wonderland." There are a number of suggestions of practical helpfulness to Yosemite travelers. The book is dedicated to Robert Underwood Johnson, "faithful lover and defender of our glorious forests and originator of the Yosemite National Park." The scenic illustrations are excellent.

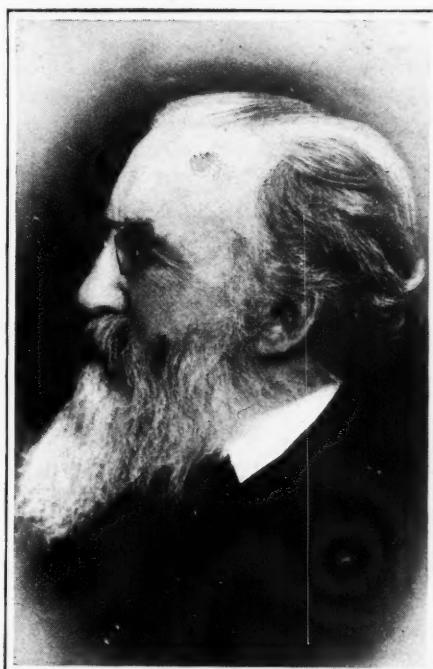
An eminent English statesman, in introducing to an English audience Dr. Frederick Van Eeden, one of the foremost living literary men of Holland, characterized him as "the most **A Great Living Hollander** highly cultured and unselfish man on earth." Dr. Van Eeden is poet, playwright, novelist, radical social reformer, and believer in coöperative production and distribution. His views are set forth in a stimulating way in his volume of essays just issued under the title "Happy Humanity,"¹ which is really an autobiography. He tells of his training first as an artist, then as a physician,—experiences out of which his social doctrines grew. He explains the failure of his experience at Walden, in Holland, in trying to carry out his economic creed into practice. He tells how his own fortune was lost, and of his unsuccessful efforts to establish a coöperative colony in the United States. Through it all he shows his unchanged faith in the ultimate attainment of "universal economic justice." Incidentally in this book, the literary and scientific life of modern Holland is charmingly set forth.

¹Happy Humanity. By Frederick Van Eeden. Doubleday, Page & Co. 265 pp., por. \$1.25.



DR. FREDERICK VAN EEDEN, THE EMINENT DUTCH AUTHOR, PHILOSOPHER AND PHILANTHROPIST

Just a few weeks before he died (on April 24 last) Justin McCarthy, the well-known Irish novelist, historian and journalist, brought out his "Irish Recollections."² Written **McCarthy's Recollections** with all the warm-hearted Irish nature and love of robust social life fairly shining through his sentences, this autobiography is a most charming one. Mr. McCarthy knew almost all the eminent worthies of two generations. The concluding paragraph of this volume is peculiarly suggestive. Mr. McCarthy refers to the quality of patience which, contrary to general belief, is a characteristic of the Irish race, and ends with the phrase: "the patience with which Ireland has waited for the dawn, that day when her rights shall be recognized by England." During the very week that this volume came from the English press, the Asquith Home Rule bill was being introduced in the House of Commons. This book is charmingly illustrated with some excellent photographs and some landscape and other views of Ireland in the past century.



JUSTIN McCARTHY, WHOSE "IRISH RECOLLECTIONS"—NOTICED ON THIS PAGE, APPEARED JUST A FEW WEEKS BEFORE HIS DEATH, ON APRIL 24

The story of the anti-slavery agitation has been written and rewritten so many times from the Northern viewpoint that no fair-minded American

The New South and "Abolition" will begrudge the South the modest privilege of setting forth the main incidents of the same story as that section witnessed them. The "reconstructed" South has an able and patriotic representative in the Hon. Hilary A. Herbert, for many years a member of Congress from Alabama and Secretary

²Irish Recollections. By Justin McCarthy. George H. Doran Co. 279 pp., ill. \$3.



HON. HILARY A. HERBERT

(Author of a new survey of the "Abolition" movement from a Southerner's viewpoint)

of the Navy in President Cleveland's cabinet. Although he served in the Civil War on the side of the Confederacy, Mr. Herbert, soon after Appomattox, reached the conclusion that slavery was wrong and on announcing this conclusion to his father was surprised to learn that his mother, who had

died some years before the war, had been in early life an avowed emancipationist, but that she had never felt at liberty to discuss slavery after the rise of the new Abolitionists and the Nat Turner insurrection. "The Abolition Crusade and its Consequences"¹ is a book of 250 pages, conceived in a spirit of loyalty to the Constitution and government of our reunited country. Mr. James Ford Rhodes, the historian, while unable to agree altogether with Mr. Herbert's presentation of the subject, declares that the book is "pervaded by practical knowledge and candor," and may profitably be read by the younger generation. No one questions Mr. Herbert's patriotism or his intention to state fairly and without bitterness the facts of history as the loyal Southerner of our time sees them.

One of the most charming and widely discussed magazine features of the past few months has been a series of articles by a Russo-Jewish immigrant girl named Mary Antin, the

An Immigrant Girl's Story

story of whose life presents a picture of unusual human strength, and pathos, and told with literary distinction. The entire autobiographical story now appears in book form under the title "The Promised Land: The Autobiography of a Russian Immigrant." "I was born, I have lived and have been made over." With these words the writer begins the introduction to her book. Therefore, she says, "the person that was before I was made over is the real heroine, and since my life I have still to live, and her life ended when mine began, therefore I write the biography of her who I was." Mary Antin was born less than thirty years ago in Polotzk, Russia, a town within the Jewish Pale, and spent her childhood there. Her family was driven by the pressure of poverty to the United States. At twelve years of age she entered the public schools of Boston, and after a brilliant progress through these schools and Barnard College, New York, she has, by sheer force of merit and native gifts, attained a conspicuous place among women thinkers and writers of her adopted country. Married to a professor in Columbia University, she rightfully takes her place in the intellectual life of America. Her life, she says, is a concrete illustration of a multitude of statistical facts. "Although I have written a genuine personal memoir, I believe that its chief interest lies in the fact that it is illustrative of scores of unwritten lives. . . . We are strands of the cable that binds the old world to the new, as the ships that brought us link the shores of Europe and America, so our lives span the bitter sea of racial differences and misunderstandings." Further on, she adjures the American people "to love your country understandingly, you should know what I have been and what I have become. In the book of my life is written the measure of your country's growth and the answer to your doubts." The human pathos and the joy of the story, the remarkable achievement of the lone immigrant girl, and the simple, direct charm of the style make this a book of unusual individuality. There are a number of illustrations, chiefly from photographs.

¹The Abolition Crusade and its Consequences. By Hilary A. Herbert. Scribner's. 250 pp. \$1.

²The Promised Land; The Autobiography of a Russian Immigrant. By Mary Antin. Houghton, Mifflin Co. 373 pp., ill. \$1.75.





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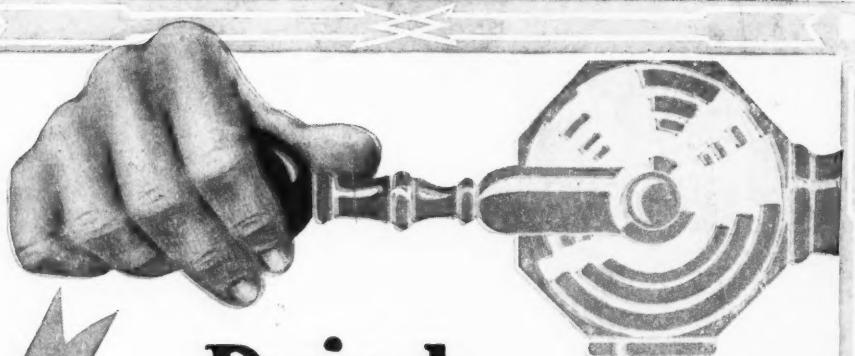
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